PR
1119
E5
no. 117
1973

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/lifeoffisher0000rona

The Life of Fisher

RICHARD HALL

edited by

Ronald Bayne

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Extra Series, 117

1921

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
Millwood, New York
1973

TYLER STATE COLLEGE LIBRARY

Unaltered Reprint produced with the permission of the Early English Text Society

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
A U.S. Division of Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited

Printed in Germany

TYLER STATE COLLEGE LIBRARY

The Life of Fisher

MS. HARLEIAN 6382

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series, No. CXVII.

1921 (for 1915).

The Life of Fisher

TRANSCRIBED FROM MS. HARLEIAN 6382

BY

THE REV. RONALD BAYNE, M.A.

SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE ENGLISH WORKS OF JOHN FISHER,
FIRST COLLECTED BY JOHN E. B. MAYOR,
EXTRA SERIES XXVII.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
BY HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,
AMEN CORNER, E.C. 4.
1921 (for 1915).

Extra Series, CXVII

Printed in Great Britain by Richard Clay & Sons, Limited,
bungay, suffolk.

PREFATORY NOTE

THE following transcript of *Harleian*, 6382, in the British Museum Library, was made many years ago with the intention of collating it with other manuscripts of the Life of Fisher, ascribed to Richard Hall, and adding it to the Works of Cardinal Fisher published by the Early English Text Society. The project has not advanced beyond the setting up in type of the transcript of *Harleian*, 6382. But the transcript is now printed in the hope that it may be found by students a useful addition to the English and Latin Lives published with full notes and introductory matter by the learned Bollandist Father, Fr. Van Ortroy, in the Analecta Bollandiana.

[*Harleian MS.* 6382. *Brit. Mus. Library.*]

[1] A Treatiſe contayninge the
lyfe and manner of death
of that moſt holy prelat
and conſtant martyr of
chriſt, John Fiſher Biſhop
of Rocheſter, and Cardinall
of the holy church of Rome.

[1] Fol. 1.

THE LIFE OF FISHER.

[1]In the yere of our Redemption 1459, and in the ſeaven and thirtieth yere of the moſt noble & vertuous prince, Kinge Henry the ſixt, this holy father and profound Doctor was borne and chriſtned at Beverley, in the province of Yorke, a towne dyſtant from London northward, about eight ſcore myles, where ſometime *the* bleſſed and glorious Confeſſor, St. John of Beverley, Archbyſhop of Yorke, lived and preached. In his baptiſme he was named John, of his godfathers, w*hi*ch name he belyed not, as by the diſcourſe of his moſt gracious lyfe ſhall moſt cleerly appeare: His parents were of honeſt ſtate and condition, and by trade of marchandiſe left behind them a competent wealth; from whoſe honeſtie, he, by his ſinguler vertue and learninge, did nothinge detract, but rather added much more then he could receive of them: for vertue and learninge be things ſo excellent of themſelves, that they purchaſe com*m*endac[i]ou*n*s, both in him in whom they are reſident, and to them alſo of whom he ſhall deſcende; yea, more then they can geve him.

Robert Fyſher his father, after he had lived many yeres in good eſtimac*i*on and credit, dyed, leavinge behind him this John Fyſher of whom we now ſpeake; [2]and Robert, both in their tender age. Their mother Ann, in proceſſe of time, marryed againe to one named 'wight,' by whom ſhe boare three ſonnes, named John, Thomas, and Richard, and one daughter called Elizabeth, which after was profeſſed a Nun in Dartford. And yet ſhe, lyke a tender mother, was not ſo affected to her ſecond huſband & children that ſhe neglected the firſt, but remayninge verie carefull of their good educac*i*on, cauſed her two

[1] Fol. 2. [2] Fol. 2, back.

ſonnes John and Robert, begotten of her firſt huſbande, to be put to learninge at the expences of ſuch goodes as their father had left them; and to that end ſhe committed them both to a preiſt of the Church of Beverley, a Collegiat Church of preiſtes richly indowed of auncient time with landes and poſſeſſions, by whom they were (amonge other children) inſtructed and taught the firſt letters and rudiments of grammer. But this our John Fiſher ſo far excelled the reſt of his ſchoole fellowes in his learninge, that it was evident to ſee even then, wherto he tended, and what he was lyke to prove vnto in time to come, betokening no doubt the name of 'fiſher,' deſcendinge from the father, to be in this his ſonne John moſt properly veryfied, as in whom it pleaſed god to elect a fyſher of men, which he after proved in very deed.

[1] After when he came to more mature and wyſe yeres, his mother and other frendes beinge ſtill carefull of his weldoinge, began to conſider amonge themſelves for what trade of lyfe he was moſt fitt: And after they had perceived in him a great dexteritye and aptnes towards learninge; and had further noted him to be, (as he was indeed) naturally indowed with a ſober and deep witt, a perfect and ſtedfaſt memorie, and a will prompt & forward to learne; they thought amonge themſelves no way ſo good as to continewe him at ſtudie; and thervpon, by a generall conſent, he was ſent to the vniverſitie of Cambrige, (diſtant from his native ſoile about eight daies iorney ſowthward,) which then flowed in learninge, and was througly frequented and furniſhed with Doctors & ſchollers comminge from all parts of England, as of auncient time had bene accuſtomed.

This John, beinge nowe come to Cambrige, was there committed to the government of maiſter william Melton, a reuerend preiſt and grave Devine; then maiſter of the College called Michaell howſe, and Doctor of Divinitie: vnder whom he ſo profited, that in fewe yeres he became ſingulerly well learned, as well in humanitie, as in logicke; philoſophie and other ſciences: not ignorant, but well acquainted, [2] with the greeke and heabrew tonges which were then verie ſtraungers in this land. Beinge thus furniſhed and inſtructed,

[1] Fol. 3. [2] Fol. 3, back.

he proceeded to the degrees of Schoole, and commenced Bacheler of Artes in the yere of our lord 1488, and maiſter of Artes the third yere after: and beinge elected fellowe of that howſe: he was alſo ſhortly after choſen Proctor of the vniverſitie: In which ſpace accordinge to the auncient lawes and ſtatutes of his College, he received the holy orders of preiſthood. After which time he fell to more profitable learninge, and, leaving all his former ſtudie, betooke himſelf to the high and heavenly philoſophie, in which, accordinge to the order of ſchollers, he kept his diſputacion with great laude and commendacion, ſo that in ſhort ſpace he grew to ſuch profoundnes, that he was eaſily accounted the flower of all the vniverſitie, and at his dewe time proceeded to the dignitie of Bachelor, and after, Doctor of divinity, which, with no ſmall praiſe he achieved in the yere of Chriſt 1502.

[1]Whiles theſe things were thus in doinge, it chanced Doctor Melton (whom we before mentioned) to be preferred to the roome of a Chancellor within the Church of Yorke; wherby the maiſters place of Michael howſe in Cambrige became voyd, whervnto the fellowes, falling to election of a new maiſter, thought none more fit for all cauſes then Doctor Fyſher; and therfore, by a full agreement amonge them, they choſe him maiſter in the place of Doctor Melton, ſometime his Tutor. Then fell it out that the ould proverbe teacheth: 'Magiſtratus arguit virum'; for who was more fit to rule and play the maiſter, then he that before was well and quyetly ruled whileſt he was a ſcholler: which in him was well verefied, for after he had continewed certaine yeres in the government of his College, he ſo demeand himſelf in that office, that he became not only a myrror or patron to the reſt that governed in their ſeuerall howſes in the vniverſity, but was alſo for his worthines choſen vice chancellor, which roome he inioyed twiſe together, and therby ruled the whole vniverſitie to his great commendacion and praiſe.

At length his name grewe ſo famous, that, paſſinge the bondes of the vniverſitie, it ſpred over all the Realme, in ſo much as the noble and vertuous ladie, Margaret, [2]Counteſſe of Richmond and Darbie, mother to the wiſe and ſage prince kinge Henrie the vii[th], hearinge

[1] Fol. 4. [2] Fol. 4, back.

of his great vertue and learninge, ceafed not till fhe had procured him out of the vniverſitie to her fervice, by meane wherof he reſigned the maiſterſhip of Michaell howſe and lefte the vniverſitie for *that* time. After he had a ſpace remayned with this noble ladie, ſhe perceived his vertue and good lyfe farr to exceed the fame that before ſhe heard of him, and thervpon foone after made him her ghoſtly father: wherin after he was a while eſtabliſhed, he ordered himſelf ſo diſcretly, ſo temperatly and ſo wyſely, that both ſhe and all her familie were governed by his high wiſdome and diſcretion, wherby at laſt he became greatly reuerenced and beloved, not only of the vertuous ladie, and all her howſhold, but alſo of the kinge her ſonne, with whom he was in no leſſe eſtimacion and credit all his lyfe after then with his Miſtres: which appeared well not only in the kings lyfe time, but alſo after his death, for he left him vpon ſpeciall truſt for one of his Executors.

[1]Thus remayninge in ſervice with the Counteſſe of Richmond, he thought with himſelf not good to ſpend his daies in ydlenes, but calling to his remembrance, that whoſoeuer ſoweth but litle ſhall reape but litle, gave himſelf wholely to practyce that which he had now well learned: and ſo bent himſelf fully to proceed in works of mercy. And wheras of himſelf he was not able to accompliſh this charitable and liberall enterpriſe for lacke of ſubſtance to anſwere the fame, he ſtudyed by all the meanes he could to provoke others of more abilitie to ſupplie his wante; amonge whom he forgot not this worthie Counteſſe his *Miſtreſs* who although of her ſelf ſhe was verie liberall and bountifull to all ſorts of people, yet no doubt through his occaſion ſhe much enlarged the fame, not only in her dayly almes amonge ſuch as were poore, but alſo in redemption of Captives, repe*ra*cion of Bridges, and high waies, rewardes towards poore maides marriage*s*, and diue*r*s other lyke. But he was not ſatiſfyed with this worldly foode, for at his perſwaſion ſhe erected two notable and goodly Colleges in Cambrige, out of which have ſprange manie notable and profound learned men to *the* great profit and comoditie of the whole Church of Chriſte, [2] wherof the one ſhe dedicated to Chriſt our Saviour and called it Chriſte College; largely indowing yt with

[1] Fol. 5. [2] Fol. 5, back.

good landes and poſſeſſions, for maintaynance of learninge and ſcience for euer, and ſaw yt perfectly in her lyfe time built and finiſhed of ſtone & brick as it now ſtandeth. The other College ſhe dedicated to St. John the Evangelift, and gave to the ſame poſſeſſions for lyke intent and purpoſe; But for as much as this College of St. John was by him finiſhed after her death vpon her goods & poſſeſſions with ſome helpe of his owne, more ſhall be declared hereafter.

She alſo vpon his motion ordayned a divinitye Lecture in Cambrige and an other in Oxforde, to be openly read in the ſchooles for eaſe of ſuch as ſhould be preachers. To the intent that the darke and hard places of holy ſcripture might therby be opened and expounded, and for continewance of them both ſhe gave good landes wheron the Readers ſtipend ſhould be paid for euer.

[1]This good father proceeding thus in deeds of charitie, partly procured by the liberallitie of others, and partly by his owne goods ſo farr as his abilitie would permitt, beſides his daily preaching to the people with moſt carefull dilligence, became at laſt greatly loved & reuerenced of all ſortes of people, eſpecially of the reuerend and fatherly Biſhopps then living in England, amonge whom the moſt worthie and grave prelate, Doctor Richard Foxe, Biſhopp of winchefter, then in noe ſmall eſtimacion and authoritie with king Henrie the ſeaventh (of whoſe Counſell he was) boare towards him a great affection and good will, highly commending him to the kinge alwaies when he ſawe convenient time and place; only for the vertuous lyfe and perfect ſanctitie he perceived in him.

It happened that about the ſame time by the death of Maiſter William Barnes, Biſhopp of London, Maiſter Richarde Fitzjames, then byſhop of Rochefter, was tranſlated from thence to the Sea of London: wherby the biſhopricke of Rochefter became void. Then the kinge (as he to whom the nominacion of the next incumbent by cuſtome of the Realme belongeth) began to conſider with himſelf where a fitt and worthie paſtor might be found; [2]The place was deſired of manie and no ſolicitacion wanted to the kinge, every man ſetting forward his frend as affeccion led him: But the kinge of his

[1] Fol. 6. [2] Fol. 6, back.

owne meere motion, inſpired by the holy ghoſt, named Doctor Fiſher his mothers Chaplaine to *that* Biſhop*rick* contrarie to the expectac*ion*, as well of them that wiſhed the place as of many others: and directing his letters to the Chappeter of the Church, required them to name the nominat*ion* for their paſtor: whervnto they ſtraight waies agreed moſt gladly, without any contradicc*ion* or negative voice of any one of them, and ſo offered vnto him the place ſoone after; But when Doctor Fyſher vnderſtood what was done, he vtterly refuſed the offer, and would in no wyſe accept ſuch a charge. Neu*er*theles at laſt by p*er*ſwaſio*n* of many of his frendes that declared vnto him the great neceſſitie of the Church at that time, and ſpecially of his old frend the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he accepted the burthen, much againſt his will, and ſhortly after was confirmed byſhop of Rocheſter from the Sea Apoſtolick by our holy father Julius the ſecond, in the monnth of October, the yere of our redemption 1504, and of his age *anno.* 45.

[1]Now for that the king had thus ſodenly p*re*ferred this man to the high promoc*ion* of a Biſhop*rick*, being but a Chaplen to the Counteſſe his mother, & neu*er* yet advaunced to any other dignitie in the church before, many thought that it was by the cheefe procurement of his M*iſtreſs* the lady Margaret, and ſoe diu*ers* would ſay to the kinge; but indeed it was farre otherwiſe for the king when he heard any man ſpeake of yt, would ſolemnely affirme, and openly p*ro*teſt that he never promoted him to yt, ether vpon the ſuite of his mother or of any other perſon livinge, nether yet (as they call yt) for price or prayer, but only for the pure devotion, perfect ſanctitie and great learninge he ſawe in him. Of which the kings bountifull liberallitie, he himſelf maketh alſo ſome mention in the Statut*es* of St. Johns College in Cambrige, prayſing much the honor of the kinge, at whoſe handes he ſo frankly and freely received this donation. He maketh alſo reherſall ſomwhat therof in his dedicatorie epiſtle to Richard, Biſhop of Winchefter, before the booke he wrote againſt Oecolampadius, where he nameth *the* kinge for his cheefeſt and beſt patron, by the wordes of w*hich* epiſtle he ſeemeth to conceive much ioy and comforte, [2]that it came to him in that ſorte.

[1] Fol. 7. [2] Fol. 7, back.

His wordes be thefe "Habeant alij proventus pinguiores etc." Which may be thus englifhed. "Although" (faith he) "fome others have greater rentes and fatter benefices then I, yet I have in ftedd therof leffe charge and cure of foules, fo that when account fhall be made of both (which vndoubtedly will be verie fhortly) I would not wifh my felf in better ftate of livinge the valewe of one heare,"— which wordes were verie well confirmed by the fequell of his doings: for although he was after at one time offered the Bifhoprick of Lincolne, and at an other time the Bifhoprick of Eelye, at the handes of King Henrie the viijth, any of them both being a farr greater livinge then Rochefter was, yet would he neuer accept fuch offer in that refpect.

After this great and waightie preferment of a Bifhoprick, there fell alfo vnto him even at the fame time an other promotion, of nether fmall moment nor yet voyd of charge, for the vniverfitie of Cambrig, confidering with themfelues what benefit they had received at his handes, and how much they were bound vnto him for the fame, and doubting left they might feeme forgetfull or ingratefull of his goodnes and [1] good will towards them alreadie fhewed, determined to confider him with all the honor they could, knowinge themfelves nether able to reward him with any riches, nor him (who looked for reward only at gods handes) defirous of worldly wealth: and therfore by a full confent they chofe him their high Chauncellor, which is the greateft magiftrate that they can make, for amonge them he beareth the authoritie and iurifdiccion of an Archbifhop, and is alfo their high iudge in all temperall caufes.

My lord of Rochefter having now receiued this dignity was not vnmindfull of that belonged to the fame, for knowing indeed what a precious thing learninge is in all regimentes, and what they were ouer whom this his authoritie was to be vfed, he did not fo much efteeme the dignitie which it contayned, as he well wayed the care thervnto annexed. But before we declare any thing of his doings in the vniverfitie, I think it beft to returne to his paftorall cure at Rochefter, & open vnto you fomwhat of his proceeding there.

Beinge not ignorant of what a burdenous & terrible yoke he had

[1] Fol. 8.

taken vpon him by accepting the care of a Biſhoprick, he determined now to beſtowe all his wittes and ſenſes how to play the part [1] of a trew byſhop; And firſt becauſe there is ſmall hope of health in the members of that body where the head is ſicke, he began his viſitacion at his head Church of Rochester, calling before him the Prior and monkes, exhorting them to obedience, chaſtitie, and trewe obſervacion of their monaſticall vowes, and where any falte was tryed he cauſed it to be amended; After that he carefully viſited the reſt of the pariſhe Churches within his Dioceſſe in his owne perſon: and ſequeſtring all ſuch as he found vnworthie to occupye that high function, he placed other fitter in their roomes. And all ſuch as were accuſed of any crime, he put to their purgation, not ſparing the puniſhment of Simonie and Hereſie, with other crymes and abuſes: And by the way he omitted nether preaching to the people, nor confirming of children, nor releeving of needie and indigent perſons. Soe that by all meanes he obſerved a dewe comlines in the howſe of god, which being done, he returned him to his Cathedrall Church: and there to recount how vertuouſly, to the godly example of others, he ordered his life, it ſhould be tedious, were it not that the labour in reading may eaſily be recompenſed with the great profitt which the ſtudious of vertue may reape of ſo fruitefull [2] examples; for there is nothing noted in him which may not greatly ſerve to the inſtruccion of the vnlearned, & for godly immitacion of thoſe which otherwiſe be not ignorant.

It is an old ſaying and trewe: 'well hath he liued that well hath lurked.' Truly of all the Biſhopps that we have knowne or heard of in our daies, it may beſt be ſaid, that this Biſhopp hath well lived, and well and ſecretly lurked: for who hath at any time ſeene him ydle walke or wander abroad? when did he frequent the Courtes and howſes of Princes and noble men to the entent (as the ould proverbe ſayth) to ſee and be ſeene? where did he vſe to banquett and feaſt? what noble men or others hath he for pleaſure invited? what companie hath vſed to reſort vnto him for ydle talke or dryving awaie of time? whom hath he excluded from him that in any wiſe he might profitt? Yf ye will call that man occupyed that is ſtill

[1] Fol. 8, back. [2] Fol. 9.

occupied in worldly bufines, then cannot that be verified in him, for he lived moft commonly alone, callinge himfelfe to a dayly account of his lyfe, vfing the Church as a Cloyfter, and his ftudie as a cell. As long as he was in contemplacion he kept aloane, but when action fhould be vfed, his divine wordes founded full lowde in all mens eares. what fhould I vfe many words? [1] All paftors and Curates vfed him for their lanterne, as one of whom they might perfectly learne when to vfe action, and when contemplacion: for in thefe two things did he fo far excell, that hard it were to find one fo well practyfed and expert in any one of them aparte, as he was in both of them together.

Confider the time when Martin Luther, the moft damnable and wicked Hereticke that ever was, began to fpringe, and you fhall not finde a ftowter champion againft him in all his time nor fince, then was this religious Bifhop, for Luther (as I have heard) began to fowe his wicked and divelifh doctrine in Germanie the yere of our lord god 1507, at which time my lord of Rochefter had gouerned the Sea about 12 yeres, not without the greate providence of Almighty god, that even at his firft comming on land in England, no fleeping dogge, nor rude nor ignorant fhepherd might be found, but a vigilant paftor, a finguler cunning and learned Bifhopp, to catch the yonge cubb or foxe at his firft arivall. O wicked Luther, great is the miferie and calamitie that thou haft brought into this Realme of England, and much greater and fooner had yt bene but for this worthie prelates refiftance, [2] yet never couldeft thou have entred at all, had he not bene taken away by fuch as thou haddeft infected with thy pernitious poyfon. But of this Luther more fhall be faid hereafter in place convenient.

We have hitherto declared vnto you his great and painfull dilligence in preachinge the word of god, which cuftome he vfed not only in his yonger daies, when health ferved, but alfo even to his extreame age, when many times his wearie and feeble leggs were not able to fuftaine his weake body ftanding, but forced him to have a chaire, and fo to teach fitting. Now confidering this his painfull travell in preaching abroade, what time can you thinke was left for

[1] Fol. 9, back. [2] Fol. 10.

TYLER STATE COLLEGE LIBRARY

him to pray, or to write. firſt do but beholde his works alreadie extant in printe: then conſider diuers others that he hidd, and are not yet come to lighte: Then remember what a number of notable bookes by him compiled have periſhed by the malice of Hereticks, and ye ſhall eaſily finde, that he was a man of ſuch reading and wrytinge, as may ſeeme to be only occupied therin and nothing els, which no doubt came by the benefitt and goodnes of Almightie god indewing him with ſo divine a witt, ſo quick invention, and ſo retayninge a memorie, wherby he diſpoſed & vttered his matter with great learning, zeal and gravitie.

[1] Beſydes this he neuer omitted ſo much as one Collect of his dayly ſervice, and that he vſed to ſay commonly to himſelf alone, without the helpe of any Chaplen, not in any ſuch ſpeedie or haſtie manner to be at an ende as many will doe, but in moſt reverent and devout manner, ſo diſtinctly and treatable[2] pronouncing everie word, that he ſeemed a verie devowrer of heavenly food, never ſatiate nor filled therwith: In ſo much as talking on a time with a Carthuſian monke, who much commended his zeale & dilligent paines in compiling his booke againſt Luther, He anſwered againe ſayinge, that he wiſhed that time of wryting had bene ſpent in prayer, thinking that praier would have done more good, and was of more merrit. And to help this his devotion, he cauſed a great hole to be digged through the wall of his church of Rocheſter, wherby he might the more commodiouſly have proſpect into the Church at maſſe & evenſonge times. When him ſelf ſhould ſay maſſe, as many times he vſed to doe, yf he were not letted by ſome urgent and great cauſe, ye might then perceive in him ſuch erneſt devotion that many times the teares would fall from his cheeke. And leſt that [3]the memorie of death might happ to ſlipp from his minde, he alwaies accuſtomed to ſett upon one ende of the Altar a dead mans ſcull, which was alſo ſett before him at his table as he dyned and ſupped. And in all his praers and other talke he vſed continewally a ſpeciall reuerence and devotion to the name of Jeſus. Now to theſe his prayers he adioyned two winges, which were Almes & faſtinge, by the helpe wherof they might mount the ſpeedier to heaven. To poore ſick

[1] Fol. 10, back. [2] treatably. Harleian 6896 7049. [3] Fol. 11.

perſons he was a phiſitian, to the lame he was a ſtaffe, to poore widdowes an advocate, to orphanes a Tutor, and to poore travellers an Hoſt. Wherſoeuer he lay ether at Rochefter or els where, his order was to inquire where any poor ſicke folkes lay neere him, which after he once knewe, he would dilligently viſitt them, and where he ſaw any of them lykely to die, he would preach to them, teaching them the waie to die with ſuch godly perſwaſions, that for the moſt part, he never departed till the ſicke perſon were well ſatiſfied and contented with death; many times was his chaunce to come to ſuch poore howſes, as for want of chymneys were verie ſmokie and therby ſo noyſome that ſcant any men could abide in them, neuertheles himſelf would there ſitt by the ſicke patient many times the ſpace of 3 or 4 howres together in the ſmoke when none of his ſervantes were able to abyde [1] in the howſe, but were faine to tarry without till his comminge abroade. And in ſome other poore howſes where ſtayres were wantinge, he woulde neuer diſdaine to clymbe by a ladder for ſuch a good purpoſe. And when he had geven them ſuch ghoſtly comfort as he thought expedient for their ſoules, he would at his departure leave behind him his charitable almes, geving charge to his ſteward or other officers daily to prepare meat convenient for them (yf they were poore), and ſend it to them. beſids this he gave at his gate to diuers poore people (which were commonly not ſmall number) a dayly almes of money, to ſome 2^{d}, to ſome 3^{d}, ſome 4^{d}, ſome 6^{d}, and ſome more, after the rate of their neceſſitie. That being done euery of them was rewarded lykewiſe with meate which was dayly brought to the gate. And leſt any fraude, parcialitie, or other diſorder might ryſe in diſtribucion of the ſame, he provided himſelf a place whervnto immediatly after dynner he would reſort, and there ſtand to ſee the deviſion with his owne eyes.

Yf any ſtraungers came to him he would entertaine them at his table accordinge to their vocacions with ſuch mirth as ſtood with the gravitie of his [2] perſon, whoſe talke was alwaies rather of learninge or contemplacion then of worldly matters: And when he had no ſtraungers, his order was now and then to ſitt with his Chaplens,

[1] Fol. 11, back. [2] Fol. 12.

which were commonly grave & learned men, amonge whom he would put fome great queftion of learninge, not only to provoke them to better confideracion and deep fearch of the hidden myfteries of our religion, but alfo to fpend the time of repaft in fuch talke that might be (as it was in deed) pleafant, profitable, and comfortable to the wayters and ftanders by, and yet was he fo daintie and fpare of time, that he would neuer beftow fully an houre at any meale. His dyet at table was for all fuch as thither reforted plentifull and good, but for himfelf verie meane: for vpon fuch eating daies as were not fafted, although he would for his health vfe a larger dyett then at other times, yet was it with fuch temperance, that commonly he was wount to eate and drinke by waight and meafure. And the moft of his fuftinance was thinn pottage fodden with flefh, eating of the flefh it felf verie fparingly. The ordinarie faftes appointed by the church he kept verie foundly, and to them he ioyned many other perticuler faftes of his owne devotion, as appeared well by his thynne and weake body, whervpon though much flefh was not left, yet would he punifh the verie fkinne and bones vpon his [1] backe. He wore moft comonly a fhirt of heare, and many times he would whipp himfelf in moft fecret wife; when night was come, which commonly bringes reft to all creatures, then would he many times difpatch awaie his fervantes, and fall to his praiers a longe fpace. And after he had ended the fame, he laid him downe vpon a poore hard Cowch of ftrawe and matts, (for other bed he vfed none) provided at Rochefter in his clofett, neere the Cathedrall Church, where he might looke into the Quyer and heare divine fervice; and being laid he never refted above 4 howres at a time, but ftraight waies rofe and ended the reft of his devout prayers. Thus lived he till towardes his later daies, when being more growne into age, which is (as Cicero faith) a ficknes of it felf, he was forced fomwhat to relent of thefe hard and fevere faftes, and the rather for that his body was much weakned with a confumption; wherfore by counfell of his phifitian, and licence of his ghoftly father, he vfed vpon fome fafting dais to comfort himfelf with a litle thynne grewell made for the purpofe.

The care that he had of his familie was not fmall, for although

[1] Fol. 12, back.

his cheefeft burthen conſifted in diſcharge of his ſpirituall function, yet did he not neglect his temporall affaires; wherfore he tooke ſuch order in his [1] revenuews, that one part was beſtowed vpon reparacion and maintenance of the Church, the ſecond vpon the releef of povertie and maintaynance of ſchollers, and the third vpon his howſhould expenſes, and buying of bookes, wherof he had great plentie. And leſt the trooble of worldly buſines might be ſome hyndrance to his ſpirituall exercife, he vſed the helpe of his brother Robert, a lay man, whom he made his Steward ſo longe as his ſaid brother lived, giving him in charge ſo to order his expenſes that by noe meanes he brought him in debte. His ſervants vſed not to weare their apparrell after any courtly or wanton manner, but went in garments of a ſadd and ſeemely colour, ſome in gownes and ſome in Coates as the faſhion then was, whom he alwaies exhorted to frugallitie and thrifte, and in any wife to beware of prodigallitie, and where he marked any of them more geven to good huſbandrie then others, he would many times lend them money, and never aſke yt againe, & commonly when yt was offered him, he did forgeve it. Yf any of his howſeholde had committed a falte, as ſomtime it happened, he would firſt examine the matter himſelf, and finding him faultie, would for the firſt time but puniſh him with wordes only, but it ſhould be done with ſuch a seuerritie of countenance and gravitie of ſpeech that whoſoeuer came once before him was verie vnwilling [2] to come before him againe for any ſuch offence. So that by this meanes his howſhould continewed in greate quyetnes and peace; everie man knowinge what belonged to his dutie. Some amonge the reſt (as they could gett oportunitie of time) would applie their mind to ſtudie and to wrytinge; and theſe above all others he ſpecially lyked, and would many times ſupport them with his labour, and ſomtimes with his money. But where he ſawe any of them geven to Idlenes and ſlouth, he would by no meanes indure them in his howſe, bycauſe out of that fountaine many evills are comonly wont to ſpringe; In concluſion his familie was governed with ſuch temperance, devotion and learning, that his Pallace for

[1] Fol. 13. [2] Fol. 13, back.

continencie feemed a verie Monafterie; and for learning an vniverfitie.

As he was difcreet in vfing feveritie, when *the* inordinate and too exceffive behavio*ur* of the offender did neceffarily require correction, fo was he comfortable and fweet towards fuch as needed confolac*i*on: wherin truly he had fuch a divine grace that he came to few in their heavines and forrowes whom, ere he left them, he did not much eafe, which amongft the number his old M*i*ſtre*ſ*s the lady Margarett [1]did often find at his handes, for at fuch time as fhe was in great hevines for the death of her only fonne that noble prince King Henrie the vij[th]., which happened in the yere of our redemption 1509, She was not fooner adu*er*tifed of the co*mm*ing of this holy father to vifitt her, but i*mm*ediately fhe found herfelf bettered. And after fhe had talked with him a fpace was for the time well fatiffyed and comforted: for he knewe well (as moft learnedly he declared in a funerall fermon, w*hi*ch vpon Sundaie the x[th] of Maie in the yere before named, he made for the forefaid prince: whofe vertues and noble actes he there co*mm*endeth, to the great example of other fuch princes as he was), That though death be tirrible of all other things, as Ariftotle reporteth, yet feeing we can by noe meanes avoid it, that the beft waie is, to acquaint our felves with it by often thinking and recording of yt, that when it co*mm*eth in deed it may feeme leſſe ſtrange: Even as we fee thofe bandoggs and maſtiffes that be tyed in chaines: for vnto fuch as doe often vifitt them they be more gentle and eafie, but againſt ſtraungers that have noe acquaintance or familiaritie with them, they furiouſly ryſe and gape to devoure them: which leſſon yf we could well learne, we ſhould no doubt take death more patiently, when it co*mm*eth, both in our ſelves and others, as doubtles this good lady did, who through the great comfort ſhe tooke in this [2]and other his holy exhortac*i*ons (after the funeralls of her ſonne the king were ended), began to returne where ſhe had be*nn*e, and did then ſett her minde wholely to the encreaſe of her charitie and almes deedes; which the rather *that* ſhe might doe with effect, ſhe called vnto her this good byſhopp co*mm*itting vnto him all the charge of this her charitable entent,

[1] Fol. 14. [2] Fol. 14, back.

wherin he had lately before moved her. I meane for the erection of her foundacions in Cambrige which above others they thought moſt neceſſarie to be diſpatched, in as much as the care and benefit of *the* ſoule is to be *pre*ferred before the bodie, for at that time hereſies began faſt to ſpringe; therfore with as much convenient ſpeed as might be, my lord ſpeeds himſelf to Cambridge, and there by vertue of his office of high Chaunceller looked verie ſtraitly to *the* orders and rules of the vniu*er*ſitie, calling eu*er*y man to his dutie aſwell in the ſchooles for profit of their learninge, as in their Churches and Colleges for dewe keeping and obſerving the ſervice of god, indevoringe himſelf, by all the meanes he could, to reduce *the* vniu*er*ſitie to their auncient rules and ſtatut*es*, which began even then to growe out of frame. And where he ſaw any that with example of obedience and profit in learninge exceeding the reſt, them he would encorrage & advaunce by all the meanes he coulde. Others that he ſawe [1]incline to the contrarie, he would expell, or avoyding of other hurt that might inſewe by their example. Some others that he perceived to loyter being apt to doe better, yf they lifted to put to their wills, he did artificially encorrage and quicken, vſing ſuch meanes, that with verie ſhame he drove them forwards; And many times for the encorragment of the yonge ſort, himſelf would be *pre*ſent at their diſputac*i*ons and reading*es*, and in diſputing among them would beſtowe ſometimes many howres together.

And here I cannot omitt to declare vnto you one ſinguler token and example of his great love and charitable mind towards the vniu*er*ſitie, which happened on a time as he lay at Cambrige occupied in the buſines of his office of Chauncellorſhip, at which time Luther in Saxonie had burſt out with a venemous tonge in rayling & crying againſt holy indulgences, co*m*monly called pardons. It fell out ſo that Pope Leo the xth graunted out a gene*r*all and free pardon (according to the aunciente cuſtome and tradition of the Church) to all chriſtian people contrite and confeſſed, through all provinces of *Chriſt*endome, and ſpecially to all ſuch as with worde and deed withſtoode this new develiſh and pernitious doctrine ſet forth by

[1] Fol. 15.

Luther: which pardon in preſſe of time came into England, and divulged into all partes of the Realme. This godly man then Chauncellor of the vniuerſitie of Cambrige; thinking not good to neglect the [1] benefitt therof, but with hartie deſire embracinge the holeſome remedie of ſuch a gratious medicine, ſoughte meanes to cure as many therwith as he coulde, that aſwell ſtudientes of the vniuerſitie as others there, might haue their partes of that heavenly treaſure: wherfore he commaunded, that certaine copies of the ſaid indulgences (which then were in printe) ſhould be ſett vp in ſundrie publique places of the vniuerſitie, wherof one was fixed on the Schoole gate: Now were there at that time in Cambrige, ſome of lyke ill ſpirit as Luther was in Saxonie, though they were verie ſecrett, and in number verie fewe, who as far as they durſt went about to deprave the authoritie therof, amonge whom a certaine wretched and pernitious perſon at that time in the vniuerſitie, envyinge the ſpirituall profitt of ꝙthers, readinge on a daie the foreſaid indulgence vppon the ſchoole gate, began ſtraight waie by inſtigacion of ſome ill ſpirit, to excogitate and thinke, how he might both ſlaunder the authoritie of the Pope, & hinder the benefit of the pardon in the hartes of good people, whervpon ſecretly in the night, comming to the ſchoole gate where the pardon ſtood, he wrote vpon it theſe wordes; "Beatus vir cuius eſt nomen domini ſpes eius, et non reſpexit [2] vanitates et inſanias falſas (iſtas)," wreſting therby the ſence of that place of holy ſcripture from the trew meaninge by adding to the text this word "iſtas" of his owne malicious invention and deviſe. In the morninge the ſchooles beinge ſett open, and the ſchollers of all ſortes reſortinge thither, according to their wonted manner, many beheld this ſtrange ſpectacle: and as the good Catholickes were much offended with the wicked kind of abuſinge holy ſcripture in ſo great a matter, ſo the contrarie ſort began amonge them ſelves to ſmile and ſecretly reioyce in approvinge the facte; what ſhould I vſe many words? This matter being at laſt brought to the Chauncellers knowledge, he was greatly moved at the deteſtable & wicked deede. And thervpon fell immediatly to find out the dooer, firſt by trying the hand wrytinge, and after by other

[1] Fol. 15, back. [2] Fol. 16.

meanes, but all in vaine, for yt could not be found out. At laſt in a publick Convocacion called for that purpoſe, he opened *the* caſe, and there before them openly deteſted *that* abhominable kind of dealinge. And firſt he approveth and alloweth *the* Popes pardons accordinge to their worthines, and after expoundeth the trewe fence of that place of ſcripture *which* before by that wretched perſon was depraved and wreſted, condemninge him of vanitie and falſhood, that would ſoe vainly and falſly uſurpe any place of holy ſcripture to the ſenſuallitie of his owne fooliſh and malicious brain. Then he declared what great diſpleaſure might iuſtly inſewe, at the handes of Almightie god and the kinge in [1]caſe this horrible fact ſhould be left vnpuniſhed. After that what a great diſcredit it would be to their whole vniuerſitie (being hitherto neuer ſuſpected of any hereticke comming out of her) yf now ſuch a malefactor ſhould eſcape and not be inquired of. In concluſion before the whole aſſemblie there congregate, he moved the Author to repentance, and by confeſſion of his falt to aſke forgevenes at gods handes, which yf he would do by a certaine day there prefixed vnto him (ſo as himſelf might alſo have knowledge therof) he promiſed in gods behalf remiſſion. But yf on the contrarie part, he would obſtinately perſiſt and continewe in his ſcacret naughtyneſſe, that then ſuch remedie ſhould proceed againſt him as *Chriſt* hath ordayned, and his Church hath alwais obſerved againſt thoſe kind of malefactors, who lyke rotten members are by the ſenſure of excommunicacion cut of from the body of the Church, and ſo deprived of all ſuch grace & benefittes as obedient and trewe members to their great comfort do inioy, whiles they continew in their mothers boſome; for the malefactor ſo cutt of be he neuer ſo odd or ſecret in his naughtines for a time, yet can he not be hidden from god, who will not fail to lay his hand vpon him when yt ſhall be too late for him to repent. After he had ſpoken theſe wordes, or the lyke, with great ſervitie the convocacion was for that time diſſolved, and ſo every man departed till the appointed day that *the* excommunicacion ſhould be pronnounced: when the day was come & *the* aſſemblie [2]readie, which was no ſmall number at ſo rare a Caſe, the chauncellor there moved the malefactor the ſecond time, to repentance and

[1] Fol. 16, back. [2] Fol. 17.

confeſſion of his offence: but the ſpiritt that before ſuggeſted this wicked attempt into his hart, wold by no meanes ſuffer him to hearken to any amendment. Wherfore the Chauncellor ſeeing the ſicknes deſperate, and not lyke to be cured in ſo obſtinate and ſtubborne a patient, feared moſt the infection of others, and therfore fell to this laſt and extreame remedie. And ſo cauſing a bill of excomunicacion to be written, tooke the ſame in his handes and began to reade yt, but after that he had proceeded a ſpace in the reading therof, he ſtayed, and began againe to conſider in his minde the great waight of this greevous ſentence, which ſo much pearced his hart, that even before them all he could not refraine weepinge. The avditorie ſeeing that lamentable ſight fell lykewiſe to ſuch a compaſſion, that aſwell the auncient reverend doctors and maiſters, as other ſtudientes of the yonger ſort, perceivinge the milde nature of that holy man fell eftſoones into great weepinge and lamentacion, and ſo left of without ſurder proceeding in the excommunicacion for that time, Neuertheles appointing a third day for that purpoſe, againſt which time yf he came not in, then to proceed to the end without any further delay. This third day being at laſt come, and the Convocacion fully aſſembled, it was declared by the Chauncellor with a heavie countenance that no tydings [1]could be learned of this ungodly perſon nether of any confeſſion or repentance by him made or donne, according to the duty of a *Chriſt*ian man, in recompence of ſo ill and wicked a fact. Wherfore nowe ſeeing no other remedie to be found, thought it neceſſarie and expedient to proceed: And ſo orderinge himſelf after a grave and ſevere manner as well in his countenance as other geſture of his bodye he pronounced this tirrible ſentence from the beginninge to the endinge, againſt this deſperat and wicked perſon, but not without weepinge and lamentacion: which ſtrooke ſuch a fear into the harts of his hearers, when they heard his fearfull & tirrible wordes, *that* moſt of them beinge preſent, eſpecially of *the* yonger ſort, looked when the ground ſhould have opened and ſwallowed him vp preſently before them, as a right reuerrend and worthie prelat once tould me, which then was a yonge man and preſent at all buſines: ſuch was the bitternes of his

[1] Fol. 17, back.

wordes, and gravitie of his ſentence. But although for that *pre*ſent time the minde of this miſerable man was ſo hardned with obſtinat ſtubbornnes, that it could by none of theſe meanes be induced to repentance and confeſſion of this ſo deteſtable Acte, but ſtill continewed in that wilfull blyndnes, with deepe and cloſe diſſimulac*ion* for a ſpace after: yet did not this holy mans zealous wordes and pittifull teares, ſpent in compaſſion of the wretched foul altogether *peri*ſhe; for not longe after they wrought ſo in him that they never [1]went out of his minde, but ingendred ſuch remorſe of conſcience in his breſt, that although meere neceſſitie forced him hereafter to forſake the vniu*er*ſitie, and become a ſervant to Doctor Goodrich then ſupe*re*ntendent of Elye, a vehemente Heretick and ill diſpoſed perſon, yet could he neu*er* be brought to thinke otherwiſe, but that he had ſore offended almightie god, in contemning him in one of his ſo worthie vicars as was this our holy byſhopp, with open deteſtac*ion* of this naughtie doinge: Inſomuch as when any of his fellowes ſervant*es* or other in that howſe, would ieſt at him & put him in remembrance of his former acte (as many times they would) he would eu*er* blame them for ſo doinge, reherſing to them this verſe of the pſalmiſt. Delicta iuventutis meæ et ignorantias ne memineris domine. This man was named Peter de Valence, by calling a preiſt, and borne in Normandie, from whence he fledd, and com*m*inge to Cambrige for ſtudie remayned there till this acte was co*m*mitted.

Thus being carefully occupyed in the buſines of the vniu*er*ſitie, he could not yet be vnmindfull of the la*dy* Margret*es* buſines: and becauſe he had no quyet reſting place within the vniu*er*ſitie to doe the ſame, it was ſome impediment vnto him for a longe time, for by vertue of his office of Chaun*c*ellorſhipp he had no habitac*ion* or manſion at all belonging vnto him; Now happened it ſo, that much about *the* ſame time, Mr. Thomas Wilkinſon, doctor of Divinitie [2]and ſecound M*aiſter* of the Queene's College, departed this lyfe; which was in the yere of our lord 1505; whervppon *the* fellowes of that howſe, reſpecting the *pre*ſent neceſſitie of this good *pre*late, and conſideringe of his continewall dilligence and care for the whole ſtate of the vniu*er*ſitie, offered him the place of their M*aiſter* or prefedent:

[1] Fol. 18. [2] Fol. 18, back.

which with many thanks he accepted, and ſo was third maiſter of that howſe, continewing therin the ſpace of 3 yeres and odd mounthes, and ſo at times convenient he proceeded to the erection of Chriſtes College for the lady Margaret, to the endowment wherof ſhe gave lands for the maintaynance of a Maiſter with xii ſchollers fellowes and xlvi diſciples for ever to be brought vp (as the wordes of her will makes mention) in learning vertue and cunninge.

Duringe the time that he was thus occupied in the lady Margarettes buſines, and helping the vniuerſitie, it happened the ſaid lady to departe this tranſitorie life at the Abbay of St. Peter in Weſtminſter to the great greefe and ſorow of all good men within this realme, which was in the yere of Chriſt 1519, the third of the Calendes of Iulie, who before her departure made her Teſtament and laſt will, naming for her executors, diuers great perſonages, amonge whom this good byſhopp was choſen as one in whom her leaſt truſt was not repoſed.

[1]Theſe executors aſſembling themſelves together, to debate of ſuch things as belonged to their charge, began firſt to take order for her buriall, which they in moſt ſolemme wiſe did celebrate at Weſtminſter, according to the dignitie of ſuch a noble princeſſe as ſhe was. And at her months minde[2] my lord of Rocheſter made a verie notable ſermon in manner of a mour[n]full lamentacion, wherin he moſt gravely and lyke a worthie father ſetteth forth the noble and vertuous quallities of that bleſſed woman. And for as much as the matter therof is well worthie to be remembred, & much the more, in that the commendacion was geven to ſuch a perſon as iuſtly deſerved it, by ſuch a prelate as vſed not to ſay haſtily more then he could well verefie, I cannot omitt to declare vnto you the effect therof in few wordes.

In this Sermon he compareth her in four pointes to the bleſſed and noble woman Martha the ſiſter of marie, That is to ſay, in nobillitie of perſon, in diſcipline of her body, in ordering her ſoul to god, and laſtly in hoſpitallitie and charitable dealinge to her neighbours. Firſt towchinge her nobillitie, he ſheweth how nobly ſhe was borne, beinge the daughter of John Duke of Somerſett, linally

[1] Fol. 19. [2] "minde" underlined & "end" written in margin.

defcended from the noble prince king Edward *th*e third; and after many princly quallities, there by him declared to be in her, he concludeth, that what by linage and what by affinitie fhe had 30 kings and Queenes within the fourth degree of maryage to her, befides [1]Dukes, marqueffes, Earles, and other princes. Then for chriftian difcipline, he fetteth out how carefully fhe alwaies efchewed banket*te*s, rere fuppers, and Iunkett*e*s betweene meales. And for fafting, although for her age and feeblenes fhe was not fo ftraitly bounde as others were, yet fuch daies as were by the church comaunded, fhe would dilligently keep, vfing in Lent one meale in the daie only, and that vpon a difh of fifh, befides divers other peculier fafte*s*, which devoutly fhe obferved. And yet when fhe was in health, fhe never fayled on certaine daies in the weeke to weare fomtimes a fhirt and fomtimes a girdle of heare *tha*t full often her fkinn was perced therwith. Thirdly for ordering her felf to god by often kneelinge, by forrowfull weepinge, by continewall prayers and meditac*i*ons, it is almoft incredible to thinke what time fhe beftowed in them all. Info muchas fhe accuftomed her felf to ryfe co*m*monly at 5 of the clock in the morninge, bycaufe fhe would omitt no parte therof. Fourthly he magnifyeth her, for her godly & charitable hofpitallitie towards all fort*e*s of people, & namely towards poore futors, not only in geving them meate and drinke, but alfo in helping them to an ende of their caufes, for the which fhe fuffered many a [2]rebuke. Then for poore people, wherof xii fhe daily and nightly maintayned in her howfe with meat drinke and cleathinge befides vifiting them in their ficknes, and miniftringe to them, with her owne handes, in grubbing & fearching their wounds and fores with her owne fingers, declaring evidently what her good will was to have don*n*e our faviour Jefus, yf himfelf had bene *pr*efent, feeing fhe did thus much to his fervant*e*s for his fake: which eftfons by her owne wordes fhe verie well confirmed, when fhe would faie that yf *chriftie*n princes would have warred vpo*n* the enemies of our faith fhe would be glad to follow the hoft and helpe to wafh their clothes for the Love of Jefus, and this fhe ftill vttered till the howre of her death. Many other great vertues and manifeft proofes

[1] Fol. 19, back. [2] Fol. 20.

of the fanctitie of that noble ladie he openeth in that fermon verie rare to be heard of in fuch a perfonage. But becaufe her notable actes may well require a whole volume of it felf, I will fpare to fay any further therof in this place.

When the funeralls of the lady Margaret were ended and donne, the Executors began further to confulte for execution of her will. Specially towchinge the Statutes of *Chriſtes* College, and erection of St. Johns College in Cambrige, wherin becaufe my lord of Rochefter had alwais before more largly dealt then any other, they thought no man fo fitt to accomplifh that bufines as he, [1]who being the only meane and firft mover of her to fuch godly enterprifes, was alfo beft acquainted with her meaning therin: whervpon the other executors by generall confent and affent, refigned vnto him the whole authoritie, by publicke inftrument in writinge: which he for the great defire he had to fatiffie that vertuous ladies laft will in fo meritorious a caufe did not vnwillingly accept. And therfore returning to Cambrige he proceeded in that godly purpofe with great dilligence. And becaufe *Chriſtes* College was cleane furnifhed in her life time (as before is declared) the cheefe care that remayned was for the College of St. John *the* Evangelift, which was in manner nowe to be builte wholely after her death, cheefly at her coſtes and charges, as by her teftament fhe had willed, although he added therto no fmall fome out of his owne purfe, for although fhe of her meere liberalitie gave by her laft will and Teftament to this College a portion of land for maintaynance of a maifter and fyftie fchollers in vertue cunning and fervice of god (as her will mentioneth), with all kind of furniture & fervantes needfull in euery office, after *the* manner and forme of other Colleges in Cambrige, yet did he not only beare a portion of the buildinge vpon his owne charge, but alfo much augmented it in poffeffions, foundinge there four fellowfhipps, a reader of an hebrew [2]lecture, a reader of a greeke lecture, four examiner readers, and four vnder readers to helpe the principall reader; and becaufe the price of victuales and other things began faft to ryfe he gave to euery one a fome of money to be weekly devided in augmenting the fellowes commons. Thus did this godly man not only beftowe his labour,

[1] Fol. 20, back. [2] Fol. 21.

care, and ſtudie in executinge the will of the noble ladie the foundreſſe; but alſo adde much thervnto of his owne purſe, to the accomplifhment and making perfect of that fair College, beſides the wholeſome ſtatutes and ordinaunces moſt prudently by him penned, and many godly deeds by him executed. For the continewall obſeruacion and maintaynance wherof he gave good landes to the College for euer, as moſt cleerly maie appeare by the auncient record which he left in wrytinge, and the ſtatutes of the ſame college, if ſince that time they be not altered, and corrupted. Lykewife his librarie of bookes (which was thought to be ſuch as no Byſhop in Europe had the lyke) with all his hangings, plate, and veſſell, for hall, chamber, butterie, and kitchin, he gave longe before his death, to the College of St. John by a deed of guifte, and put the howſe in poſſeſſion therof by guifte of his owne handes, and then by Indenture borrowed all the ſaid bookes and ſtuffe of them againe, to have the vſe therof during his lyfe. But at his apprehenſion all theſe things were converted an other way and ſpoiled by certaine Commiſſioners ſent from the kinge for the ſame purpoſe. And for a perpetuall memorie of his [1]hartye good will and love borne towards the College, he cauſed a little Chappell to be builded neere to the high Altar of the great Chappell, and ſett therin a Tombe of white marble finely wrought, minding there to have reſted his bodye amonge them, yf god had not afterwardes diſpoſed him otherwiſe, and for as much as of the two regions the North and the South, into which England is divided he noted the North to be more barraine of learninge, and ſo ruder in manners then the Sowth, he provided in the ſame Statutes that the greater part aſwell of the fellowes, as of the ſchollers ſhould alwais be received out of the North partes: not of parcialitie and affeccion that he being borne in the north might ſeeme to beare to his native countrey, but in reſpect of the need which he of his great wiſdome and providence did eaſily ſee to require, wherby it is come to paſſe, that theſe two Colleges (by which Cambrige is ſince that time much bewtified) have not only in a ſhort ſpace brought forth a great number of learned men, well inſtructed in all ſciences and knowledge of the three learned tongues, to the ſinguler benefit of the Church of

[1] Fol. 21, back.

god, and commonwelth of this realme, but have alſo ſent out of them ſome holy martyrs, for in our time we may remember that famous learned father Mr. Richard Raynoldes, doctor of divinitie and monke profeſſed in Sion, of the rule of St. Brigett, and Mr. William Exmewe, a Carthuſian profeſſed [1] in London, both which came out of Chriſtes College and ſuffred martyrdome in the time of kinge Henrie the VIII[th]; from that place ſprunge alſo that moſt reuerend and grave doctor Maiſter Nicholas Heath Archbiſhop of Yorke, and after Chancellour of England, and Maiſter Cuthbert Scott Biſhop of Cheſter. Lykewiſe out of the College of Saint John came that famous martyr Doctor Greenwood, who ſuffered death vnder kinge Henrie for the ſupremmacie: and of Biſhopps came Maiſter George [2] Daye biſhop of Chicheſter, Maiſter Raph Bayn byſhop of Litchfelde, Maiſter Thomas Watſon biſhop of Lincolne, Maiſter John Chriſtoferſon an other biſhop of Chicheſter, and Maiſter Thomas Bourcher, biſhop elect of Glocester, and before that Abbott of Leiſter, All right grave Devines, learned preachers and worthie Catholyke biſhops. Beſides that of Deanes in Cathedrall churches, and other learned doctors and preachers, they have brought forth ſuch an infinite number, that it is wonnder to thinke and worthie without all doubt, to be attributed principally to the goodnes and exceeding mercie of god over this realme, who againſt this wicked time of Hereſie, did even then moſt gratiouſly prepare this good ladies minde, to ſuch a notable worke of mercie, by the meanes of this ſo worthie a biſhops dilligence and faithfull carefulnes to execute the ſame, which providence of god appeareth plainly in that within ſo ſhort a time as paſſed betweene the erection of the Colleges and the rayſing of the ſeiſme, it was poſſible for ſo many worthie and Catholick learned men to ſpring out of ſo ſmall a fountaine. And as by the great liberallitie and bountie of this noble & [3] bleſſed woman the vniuerſitie of Cambrige doth now at this preſent remaine much advaunced in the faculties of ſtudie and learninge, ſo may we note, how that of longe time, even as it were from her firſt begininge, it hath pleaſed god to move the hartes of ſundrie noble

[1] Fol. 22.
[2] Richard originally written, then scratched out and George written over.
[3] Fol. 22, back.

Catholick kings and queenes of the Realme, with other noble princes of the blood royall, to put to their benevolent and helping handes. Infomuch that through their gratious and bountifull charitie, proceedinge no doubte of efpeciall favour and affeccion, which they in their feuerall ages have ever borne to this vniuerſitie, it is at this daie adorned with many goodly colleges, bewtifyed with diuers fumptuous churches and Chappells, and plentifully endowed with landes and poſſeſſions wherby she hath norifhed and brought forth many ſingulerly well learned in all faculties of knowlege and learninge, wherin as ſhe hath alwais wonne praiſe and commendacions, ſo hath ſhe moſt of all deſerved in this one pointe: That in ſo many hundred yeres as ſhe hath florifhed, never hereſie, nor other vnfound doctrine hath ſpronge out of any of her members, wherby the Catholick Church of Chriſt hath at any time bene diſturbed, But alwais hath perſevered in ſound doctrine, yea, even then moſt of all when Oxford her Sifter, the other vniuerſitie, was miſerably toſſed and turmoyled with the peſtiferous hereſies and ſectes of wicklef. For we maie reade of diuers learned clerkes ſometimes ſchollers and ſtudientes of this vniuerſitie [1]of Cambrige that have in their ſeverall times learnedly confuted, and moſt carefully rooted out, ſuch pernitious hereſies as then were diſperſed as well in this realme as els where. And even now in theſe our daies there have not wanted ſundrie learned fathers of that number, beſides this moſt reuerend and holy doctor of whom we now intreat, that have ſtept forth againſt theſe damnable errors and ſectes now troobling this realme, and the whole world beſides, by whoſe learning and dilligence it is not vnlyke, but this realme might have bene ſafely preſerved, had not the kinge himſelf bene firſt infected with this fowle and horrible ſpott of hereſie, who by his owne vnlawfull power, not only removed from their places all theſe auncient and ſage rules[2] that ſhould by their learning and grave authoritie have repulſed ſuch pernitious fectes, but alſo placed in their roomes ſuch and ſo manie heretickes as himſelf had choſen, to ſet forward his wicked and execrable purpoſes. And as it is not to be reade of any hereticke by them brought forth of their owne flocke and number; So have

[1] Fol. 23, [2] rulers. Harleian, 250, 6896, 7049.

they not willingly ſuffred any other Heretick of forrain nation or countrey to abide quyetly amonge them; wherof although diuers examples might be recyted, yet can I not omitt this one being yet freſh in memorie. To witt, of M. B. and P. F.,[1] two wicked and pernitious hereticks, who although in the childiſh raigne of king Edward the VI^th^ when they and all others of their profeſſion, did frankly profeſſe and openly teach within that vniuerſitie whatſoeuer pleaſed themſelves even to their dying daies, and being borne out by the power of [2]ſuch as then ruled all at their licentious wills and pleaſures, wherby a great part of the youth of that time reſident there at ſtudie were much anoyed and infected with their peſtilent hereſies. Yet lacked there not many even at that inſtant of the elder ſort, which not ſo ſtoutly as learnedly, yea in open diſputacion impugned their deviliſh doctrine, and would not have failed to hiſſe them out of their ſchooles, had they not by ſwaie of that time bene put to ſilence, ſome by baniſhment, and other ſome by impriſonment. And yet in the time of good Queene Marie, when theſe and ſuch lyke learned and reuerend men were reſtored againe, to their accuſtomed eſtate of governement within that vniuerſitie. They, mindfull of their dutye and carefull to ſupply the want which the iniquitie of the time would not before permitt them to attempt according to the holy Cannons of the Church, cauſed not only the carcaſſes and bones of thoſe hereticks to be vnburied, and taken out of the grave, wherof at their death they were not capable by lawe, but alſo, for example ſake, by lawfull authoritie procured the ſame bones and carcaſſe then to be openly burnt in the marked place in the face of the worlde, that for the enormitie of their haynous crime, the dead bodies and bones might beare witnes of their puniſhment, which they yet livinge by lawe deſerved, and ſhould have felt by all lykelyhood, yf (as I have ſaid) the iniquitie of the time had not letted. He alſo minded to have erected [3]yet a third College in Cambrige of his proper charges, and therin conſulted with Eraſmus by ſundrie epiſtles for his adviſe: but becauſe he was prevented by the iniquitie of time that ſhortly after followed, in which his goods began to waſt, he left of his purpoſe and neuer began it at all.

[1] Martin Bucer, Paulus Fagius *in margin.* [2] Fol. 23, back. [3] Fol. 24.

Now approched the time wherin God was determined to make triall of his people, the man of ſinne (Antichriſt) ſhould be yet more manifeſtly revealed, for the verie mouth of hell was ſett open, and out came the wicked ſpirit of Antichriſt and entred into Martin Luther, an Auguſtin frier, an infamous heretick and execrable Apoſtata. This wicked man ſet forth diuers blaſphemous bookes ſtuffed with moſt abhominable and falſe doctrines, which in ſhort time came to the ſight of my lord of Rocheſter; whervpon he began not only to ſette himſelf to more dilligent preaching and wryting then euer he had yet done before, but alſo procured and ſet forward many other learned preachers to looke and foreſee that this cruell and ravenous wolfe ſhould not devour England, and by occaſion therof provided in the ſtatutes of Saint John's college before mentioned, that the fellowes of the howſe ſhould ſo order and moderate their ſtudies, as alwais the fourth part of them might be prechers, and as ſoone as one was gone abroad an other ſhould ſtraight waies be readie to ſucceed in his place. Thus he ſtill occupied himſelf ether privatly or openly, never intermitting the ſpirituall care of his dioceſſe, whether he were at London or at Cambrige, [1]or els where, ſpecially now when the wicked ſeed of Luther was ſo faſt ſowen and diſperſed abroade. For this cauſe he returned to his charge at Rocheſter, being then at Cambrige, and after he had there remayned a certaine ſpace, preaching and teaching after his accuſtomed faſhion, he was taken with great deſire to travell to Rome, there to ſalute the Pope's holines, and to viſitt the toumbes of the holy Apoſtles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, with the reſt of the holy places and reliques there. But you ſhall vnderſtand that this was not the firſt time that he had entred into that deliberacion; for it was by him determined from the time that he firſt received his Biſhoprick, which by certaine occaſions was twiſe before diſapointed. Wherfore havinge now gotten (as he thought) a good opportunitie, he providently diſpoſed his howſehould and all his other matters: and after leave obtained of the kinge and his metropolitan, he began to prepare for his iorney to Rome: to this voyage he had choſen learned companie. But beholde, when everie thing was readie and

[1] Fol. 24, back.

the iorney about to begin, all was fodenly difapointed, and he revoked, for other bufines to be treated of at home, which of neceſſitie required his *pre*fence. And this (*with*out all doubt) was not without the providence of Almightie God, who, content with his good minde, thought not that iorney then expedient. Being then thus ſtaid & lette l to proceed in his devout purpoſe, he returned where he [1]lefte to his paſtorall cure at Rocheſter, wherof at that time was great neede, for the wicked ſect of Luther grewe verie faſte ; the cauſe of his revoca*cion* was by meane of a Synod of byſhopps called by Cardinall Woolſey who (having lately before received his power legantine from the Pope) at that time ruled all things vnder the kinge alſo at his owne will and pleaſure. To this Sinod the Clergie of England aſſembled themſelves in great number, where it was expected that great matters for the benefitt of the Church of England ſhould have been p*ro*poned, howbeit all fell out otherwiſe: for (as it appeared after) This Counſell was called by my Lord Cardinall rather to notifie to the world his great authoritie, and to be ſeene fitting in his Pontificiall ſeate, then for any great good that he ment to doe which this learned and wiſe prelate perceived quickly. Wherfore having now good occaſion to ſpeake againſt ſuch enormities as he ſaw daily ryſinge amonge the ſpiritualtie and much the rather for that his wordes were amonge the Clergie aloane, without any co*m*mixture of the layitie, which at that time began to hearken to any ſpeaking againſt the Clergie, he there reprooved verie diſcreetly *the* ambition and incontinencie of the Clergie, utterly condemninge their vanitie, in wearing of Coſtly apparrell, wherby he declared the goods of the Church to be ſinfully waſted & ſcandall to be rayſed amonge the people, ſeeing the tythes and other oblac*i*ons geven by the devotion of them, and their anceſtors, to a good purpoſe ſo inordinately ſpent in [2]vndecent and ſuperfluous rayment, delicate fare, and other worldly vanitie, which matter he debated ſo largly and framed his wordes after ſuch ſort, that the Cardinall p*er*ceiued himſelf to be towched to the verie quicke : for he affirmed this kind of diſorder to proceed through the example of the head, and thervpon reprooved his Pomp, putting him in minde, that it ſtood better with the modeſtie of ſuch

[1] Fol. 25. [2] Fol. 25, back.

a high paſtor as he was to eſchewe all worldly vanitie; ſpecially in this perilous time. And by humillitie to make himſelf conformable and lyke the Image of god, "for in this trade of lyfe" (ſaid he) "how can there be any lykelyhood of perpetuitie with ſafetie of conſcience, nether yet any ſecuritie of the Clergie to continewe, but ſuch plaine and imminent daungers are lyke to enſewe, as were neuer tafted nor heard of before our daies: for what ſhould we" (ſaid he) "exhort our flockes to eſchew and ſhunn worldly ambition, when we our ſelves that be byſhopps, do wholely ſett our mindes to the ſame things we forbidd in them. What example of *Chriſt* our ſaviour do we imitate, who firſt executed doing and after fell to teachinge. Yf we teach accordinge to our doinge, how abſurd may our doctrine be accounted; yf we teache one thinge and doe another, our labour in teaching ſhall never benefitt our flocke half ſo much as our example in doing ſhall hurt them. Who can willingly ſuffer and beare with vs in [1]whom (preaching humilitie, ſobrietie, and contempt of *the* world) they maie evidently perceive, hawtines in minde, pride in geſture, ſumptuouſnes in apparell, and damnable exceſſe in all worldly delicates. Truly, moſt reuerend fathers, what this vanitie in temporall things worketh in you I know not, but ſure I am that in my ſelfe I perceive a greate impediment to devotion, and ſo have felt a longe time, for ſundrie times when I have ſetled and fully bent my ſelf to the care of my flocke committed vnto me, to viſitt my dioceſſe, to governe my church, and to anſwere the enemies of *Chriſt*, ſtraight ways hath come a meſſenger for one cauſe or other ſent from higher authoritie, by whom I have bene called to other buſines and ſo left of my former purpoſe. And thus by toſſing and going this waie and that way time hath paſſed, and in the meane while nothinge done, but attending after tryvmphs, receiving of Ambaſſadors, haunting of princes courtes, and ſuch lyke, wherby great expenſes ryſe that might better be ſpent otherwaie." He added further, that whereas himſelf, for ſundrie cauſes ſecretly knowne to himſelf, was thriſe determined to make his voyage to Rome, and at everie time had taken full and perfect order for his cure, his howſhould, and for all other buſines, till his returne, ſtill by occaſion of theſe worldly

[1] Fol. 26.

matters, he was difapointed of his purpofe. After he had vttered thefe with many moe fuch words in this Sinod, they feemed all by their filence to be much aftonyed, and to thinke well of his fpeeches, but in deede, [1]by the fequell of the matter, it fell out that fewe were perfwaded by his counfell, for noe man vpon this amended any whitt of his accuftomed licentious lyfe, no man became one heare the more circumfpect or watchfull over his cure, and many were of this mind, that they thought it nothing neceffarie for them to abate anythinge of their faire apparell for the reprehenfion of a fewe whom they thought too fervpelous: fo that (excufes neuer wantinge to cover fiun:) this holy fathers wordes, fpoken with fo good a zeale, were all loft, and came to nothinge for that time.

In the meane fpace Luthers herefie ftill proceeded, fpreading farr and wide abroad in Saxsonie, and other dominions of Germanie, and the poyfoned bookes therof at laft came frefhly into England, by the helpe of marchantes that travelled that waie: by meane wherof not they themfelves only, but alfo artificers, foldiers, women, and other of the common people, fpecially of the yonger fort, fimply learned, and of little vnderftanding, by readinge thefe bookes, ftraight waies at the firft receipt dranke their deadly draught of this venomous poyfon. Then after it crept abroad lyke a canker more largly, and entred into the minde of many englifh people of the better fort, who, lyke the nature of Iflanders that commonly be changeable and defirous of novelties, received yt with much plawfibilitie, which [2]thinge king Henrie conficleringe, he ftraight waie without delay called for helpe to the Bifhopps, and imediatly with his owne penn fett vpon Luther, the head of all the mifcheef, by meane wherof, he not only fhewed himfelf well to deferve the name of defendor of the faith (which after vpon occafion of that booke was geven him by our holy father Pope Leo the tenth) but alfo brought amonge the learned byfhops of his owne realme, a great hope, that by his helpe all would be ftaied for that time. That booke of the kings (which was a right worthie and learned treatife) was intituled an affertion of the feaven facraments againft Martyn Luther.

There were at that time diuers that would affirme my lord of

[1] Fol. 26, back. [2] Fol. 27.

Rochefter to be author of that booke, for certaine it is, that in thofe daies no man was greater with the king in *that* kind of bufines then he: nether did *the* king yelde more reue*r*ence or credit to any man living then to him. In fo much as he would many times faie, that he thought him the deepeft divine in Europe, which doth nothinge at all detract from the kings praife, but rather maketh the booke more commendable, even as thofe wife and fubftantiall lawes which the king doth make by advife of his learned counfellors do nothing derogate from his authoritie, but are promulged and publifhed for his owne ordinaunces. He further, to the advaunc*e*ment of the kings worthines and defence of the truth againft that bitter poyfond anfwere of Luther, made an appollogie, rebuking Luther as well for his fcurrillitie and knavifh tearmes vfed againft fo noble a prince as alfo for his falfe and manifeft errors, which he moft profoundly confuteth. The publifhing of w*h*ich booke [1]he deferred for a time, becaufe the rumor was that Luther would recante. But when it was perceived that he with all his factors, with all their might ceafed not to vrge forward the fcifme, fetting forth corrupted tranflac*i*on of bibles, and wreftinge the fence therof to their owne malitious vnderftandinge, he fetteth his booke im*m*ediatly forth, for a warninge to all pofteritie, with a p*r*eface before yt, to his ould acquaintance the Bifhop of Elie, named Doctor Weft, being both brought vp together from their youth in ftudie at Cambrige, where many difputac*i*on had paffed betweene them, as partly in the faid p*r*eface himfelf doth remember, the infc*r*iption of which booke was thus: A defence of the kinge of Englands affertion of the Cath. faith againft Martin Luthers booke of the Captiuitie of Babulon. About the fame time he was alfo compilinge an other booke, wherin he defended the holy order of preifthood againft Luther, and fett yt to the printe Thus lamenting with himfelf the p*r*efent ftate of things, and devifing how to provide remedie for that which he fawe followinge, lyke to a carefull Shepherde he laid watch in everie corner, fearching all places where the enemye might enter, and where any came within his reach, he tooke houlde on them, fpecially againft the Lutherans, he exalted his voice lyke a trumpett preaching againft them more

[1] Fol. 27, back.

liberallie, and alfo more often then his former cuftome was. Befides, forth he fent [1] abroade certaine other preachers, men well inftructed to catch *the* woolfe and to admonifh the people of the fecrett poyfon that laye hidd, under *pretext* of reformac*ion*. But behould, how eafie a thinge it is to deceive the fillie people, and how quickly they that be light of Credit, maie be induced to followe crooked waies and bye pathes: for they geving care to flaunderous tales and pernitious lyes develifhly invented by Luther vpon abufes attributed to the Clergie, and cleane carryed awaie with carnall libertie, which this new fifth gofpell did liberallie bringe them, were fallen in that wilfull blindnes, that making themfelves iudges in that which they fhould receive by iudgment of their paftors, nether by the kings affertion againft Luther, nether by the continewall vifitac[i]ons of their byfhopps, neither yet by *the* dilligent and faithfull teaching of the learned fathers and doctors, could be ftaide, but altogether drunken with the Mufte of licentious libertie fo frankly broached vnto them, and wilfully wedded to their vaine prefumption, rafhly and without reafon, they fuffred themfelves to be abufed by that falfe and wicked heretick (whom they fhould moft dilligently have efchewed), and imbraced him as a trewe and fyncere reformer of vice, calling him a holy father, a trew and godly preacher of gods worde, yea, a verie prophett. This did they firft by whifperinge fecretly amonge themfelves, then by open talke, and at length by open cafting abroade and vfing his feditious booke pernitiouſly penned to catch the ignorant fort, by abafing the authoritie of the Pope, Kings, and Bifhops, and all other potentates. Of this faction were fix at one time apprehended, wherof the [2] cheefe was Robert Barnes, an Auguftine freer, which after longe perfwafion of diuers learned men abiured their falfe and deteftable herefies, and for their pennaunce ftood openly at Paules Croffe on the quinquagefima Sundaie, which was in the yere of our redemption 1525. At which time this learned byfhop made there a worthie fermon, where the moft reuerend father Maifter Thomas Wolfey, Cardinall and legate a latere with xi bifhopps, and a great audience of people were prefent. In which fermon he there profecuted the gofpell, vttering it againft the lutherans fectes

[1] Fol. 28. [2] Fol. 28, back.

with ſuch fervencie of faith, ſuch zeal to the Catholick Church of *Chriſt*, ſuch force of argumentes grounded vppon holy ſcripture, and ſo fully repleniſhed with the holy ghoſt, that yf the king had bene as trewe a Defender of the faith in his deedes, as he was in name and tytle, no doubt but England had bene ſafe & foundly preſerved from that miſerable crime that after yt fell into. He pronounced an other notable Sermon verie ſhortly after before the ſaid lord Cardinall in the ſame place, within the Octaves of the Aſſention, in which he ſhewed himſelf a ſtowt and zealous preacher, and a moſt vigilant paſtor againſt theſe raveninge and peſtiferous heretickes; many other Sermons and homilies to the ſame effect he made, beſides, at London the head cittie of England, taking therby occaſion to taxe aſwell the negligence of Curates, as the raſhnes and levitie of the people, exhorting all ſorts in their vocacion to play the vigilant ſoldiers in ſtowtly reſiſtinge theſe develiſh aſſaultes of hereſie.

[1]Now after this his wearifome occupacion of preachinge there followed yet an other painfull labour of wrytinge, for at this time roſe out of Luthers ſchoole Oecolampadius, who lyke a mightie Giant braſt out more venomouſly, (if more could be) then his Maiſter, Freer Luther. For thinking himſelf better learned then his Maiſter, he went an aſe further, denying damnably the reall preſence of the bodie and blood of our faviour in the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar, wherin as he went altogether from his mother the Church, ſo did he differ farr from his ſchoolemaiſter, Martin Luther, wherfore the grave prelate & zelous paſtor, lyke a valiant Champion (that never could be tyred), ſet vpon this raveninge woolf with five weapons, which were fiue bookes moſt dilligently and clerkly collected, well ſtuffed with evident ſcriptures, and cenſures of holy fathers, both in their learned works, and alſo in their generall Counſells where lawfully aſſembled, they have declared ſuch things as are expedient for the maintaynance of the truth repreſenting our mother the Church, by the authoritie and vertue wherof he ſo wounded this Golias, that in concluſion he cleane ouerthrewe him and laid him flatt on the ground. Theſe bookes were written in the yere of *Chriſt* 1525, at which time he had governed the Sea of

[1] Fol. 29.

Rochefter about twenty yeres, and the next yere followinge they were publifhed and ſętt abroad in print, to the great confirmac*i*on of all good [1] *Chriſt*ians, that ether read or heard the fame, and no leſſe diſcorrage of all heretick*es*, as by the ſequell maie well appeare, for nether to thoſe bookes, nether yet to any other of his bookes or work*es* hath any heretick to this daie yet made anſwere or refutac*i*on, which I thinke can hardly be ſaid of any other Catholyke wryter that wrote in his time.

Hitherto we have diſcribed vnto you this worthie p*re*late, nether doombe in preachinge, nor ydle in wryting: nether could in devotion, nor ambitious in aſpyringe. It followeth now that we muſt intreate of a great and lamentable calamitie that chaunced in theſe our daies, wherof as I thinke there are verie few that can ſay they have cleane eſcaped without feelinge ſome part of the ſmart, ſo this reu*e*rend father taſted plentifully therof, whom yt chaunced in the verie begining to be one of the firſt that brake the yſe, and to open and ſhewe the inconvenience that followed therby, no doubte to his i*m*mortall fame and glorie, and no leſſe to *the* reproach and ignominie of all ſuch as were his perſecutors, as by the ſequell of this Hyſtory ſhall well appeare. I meane here of the Divorce between kinge Henrye and queen Katherine his wife: the verie Spring from which ſo many lamentable & miſerable tragedies have ſpronge, to the vtter ruine and defolac*i*on of [2] this noble Realme of England, in the trew ſervice of god, and miniſtrac*i*on of Juſtice, and knowledge of all ciuill honeſtie. So that beſides the greeſe, and loathſomnes therof I thinke it a matter almoſt vnpoſſible to be expreſſed in wrytinge, But foraſmuch as the worthie Actes of this holy father can*n*ot plainly be vnderſtoode, vnleſſe we enter ſomwhat into this matter nether this matter fully perceived except we make a little digreſſion, yet it ſhall be convenient, to repeat from the firſt origenall and fountaine, the cauſe of all this greevous buſines, wherin yf I ſhall ſeeme ſomwhat prolixe and tedeous, I muſt deſire the reader to conſider the fruite wh'ch he maie reape by the full diſcourſce therof, being full of profitable and vertuous leſſons and good examples.

There hath of longe time continewe l an auncient amitie and

[1] Fol. 29, back. [2] Fol. 30.

frendfhipp, between the howfe of Burgundie and this Realme of England, wherby amonge other commodities, great traffique of marchandize from the one countrey to the other hath vfually bene practifed: to the which howfe of Burgundie when in proceffe of time, the noble families of Auftria, Spaine, Naples, and Sicilie was by maryage adioyned, the moft fage and vertuous prince Kinge Henrie the viith, perceiving fo many noble kingdoms and countreys now brought to one Monarchie, and therwith much defiringe the continewance of his auncient league and amitie aforetime vfed, fent vnto Ferdinando, King of Aragon and Caftile, requiring of him in marryage, the lady Catherine his daughter for the lord Arthur, prince of wales, his eldeft fonne.

[1]Kinge Ferdinando (as he was a wife and noble prince) fo in this matter he fhewed himfelf nether hard nor ftrange, but ftraight waies agreed to this good motion. Then was preparacion made for the iorney, and the noble yonge ladie beinge imbarked and arived in England, was at laft folemnly marryed to the said Prince Arthur in the Cathedrall church of Saint Paul within London: which was in the yere of our lord god 1500, and the xvith yere of King Henrie the feventh his Raigne. After the folemnitie of the marryage was finifhed they went both to Ludlowe, in Shropfhire, and there for a fpace remayned, and kept howfe together. But beholde (god fo orderinge the matter) within five monnths after the marryage, Prince Arthur beinge alwais but a weake and fickly yonge man not above the age of xv yeres chaunced to depart this tranfitorie life, by meane wherof, the good intent and meaning of the two kings their fathers, was nowe become all fruftrat and void. Neuertheles that fo good a matter, fo well begun, fhould not altogether quaile, there was yet an other waie devifed how all might be folved againe, and the firft good intention take place: This was, that feeing the ladie Catherine was now a widdowe without yffue of Prince Arthur her hufband, fhe might therefore be married to the lorde Henrie, brother to the faid prince. Of this devife both the kings lyked well, and to that inclyned their mindes accordingly, & left fome cavillacion might in time arife about this matter, bycaufe of the Leviticall lawe, for-

[1] Fol. 30, back.

bidding the one brother [1] to reveale the fecrettes of the other, yt was thought good by the learned counfell on both fides that difpenfacion fhould be fewed for from the Sea apoftolick, which was done and graunted accordinge to the two kings requeftes by our holy father Pope Julius the fecond. In this Bull the maryage with Prince Henrie was difpenced, for that the ladie was before maryed to his brother prince Arthur, yea, in cafe there were carnall knowledge between them.

The tenore wherof was thus.

Julius epiſcopus feruus feruorum dei.

Dilecto filio Henrico chariſſimo in *Chriſto* filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ regis illuſtris Nato: et dilecto Catherinæ chariſſimi in *Chriſto* filij noſtri Ferdinandi regis, et chariſſimæ filiæ Elizabethæ reginæ Hiſpaniarum et Siciliæ catholicorum natæ illuſtribus Salutem, &c.

Romani pontificis præcellens authoritas confeſſa ſibi defuper utimur poteſtate provt perſonarum negotiorum & temporum qualitate penſata in domino conſpicit ſalubriter expedire.

Oblata nobis nuper pro parte veſtra petitionis feries continebat, quod cum alias tam in *Chriſto* filia Catherina & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus chariſſimi in *Chriſto* filij noſtri—Henrici Angliæ regis illuſtris: primogenitus pro conferuandis pacis et amicitæ nexibus et federibus, inter chariſſimum in *Chriſto* filium noſtrum Ferdinandum et chariſſimam in *Chriſto* filiam noſtram Elizabetham Hiſpaniarum et Siciliæ reginam Catholicos; ac præfatos Angliæ [2] reges et reginam matrimonium legitime per verba de preſenti contraxiſſetis, illudque carnali copula forſan conſummaviſſetis dictus Arthurus prole ex hujuſmodi matrimonis non ſuſcepta deceſſit. Cum autem ſicut eadem petitio ſubiungebat ad hoc, vt vinculum pacis et amiciciæ inter præfatos regem et reginam hujuſmodi diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de preſenti contrahere: Supplicari nobis feciſtis, vt vobis in premiſſis de oportunæ diſpenſacionis gratia providere; de benignitate apoſtolica dignaremur.

Nos igitur qui inter ſingulos *Chriſti* fideles ac prefertim catholicos reges et principes, pacis et concordiæ amænitatem vrgere intenſis

[1] Fol. 31. [2] Fol. 31, back.

deſiderijs affectamus: Vos et quemlibet veſtrum, a quibuſcunque excommunicationibus &c.: Hujuſmodi ſupplicacionibus inclinati, vos bifcunque vt (impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex premiſſis proveniente ac conſtitutionibus et ordinacionibus apoſtolicis cæteriſque contrarijs nequaquam obſtantibus) matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti inter vos contrahere, et in eo poſtquam contractum fuerit et ſi iam forſan hactenus de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis ac illud carnali copula conſummaueritis, licite remanere valeatis authoritate apoſtolica, tenore preſentium de ſpiritualis dono gratiæ diſpenſamus, ac vos et quemlibet veſtrum ſi contraxeritis, vt præfertur[1] ab exceſſu hujuſmodi excommunicacionis ſententia quam propterea incurristis eadem authoritate[2] abſoluimus prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſiue contracto ſiue contrahendo ſuſceptam forſan vel ſuſcipiendam legitimam decerendo.

Proviso quod tu in *Chriſto* filia Catherina propter hujuſmodi rapta non fueris, volumus autem ſi hujuſmodi matrimonium de facto contraxeritis Confeſſor per vos et quemlibet veſtrum eligendus penitentiam ſalutarem propterea vobis iniungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo &c. Datum Romæ etc., 1507, calendis Januarij, Anno &c., which in english may be thus underſtoode:

Julius Byſhopp, Servant to *the* ſervantes of god. To our loving ſonne Henrie, the ſonne of our moſt deere ſonne in *Chriſt*, Henri the noble king of England. And to our beloved daughter in Chriſt, Catherine the daughter of our moſt deere ſonne and daughter Ferdinando and Elizabeth, the Catholyke king and queene of Spain and Sicilie, greeting, &c. The Biſhop of Rome by his high authorytie geven vnto him from above doth vſe his power, waying the quallitie of the perſons, the buſines, & the time, as he ſeeth expedient and profitable in our lorde. There hath lately ben preſented vnto vs a petition on your behalf contayninge that where you our welbeloved daughter Katherin and Arthur then livinge, the eldeſt ſonne of our moſt deere ſonne in *Chriſt* Henrie the noble kinge[3] of England, had (for conſervacion of the bondes and pactes of peace and amitie between our moſt deere ſonne and daughter

[1] præfertur, Harleian, 7049 and 250; MS. pefertur.
[2] Fol. 32.
[3] Fol. 32, back.

Ferdinando and Elizabeth, Catholicke king and queene of Spaine and Sicilie, and the forefaid king and queene of England) lawfully contracted between you a matrimony by *prefent* wordes, and had alfo perhaps confu*mm*mate *the* fame by carnall knowledge, the faid Arthur deceaffed *with*out any yffue borne of the fame matrimonie. And wheras you defire to contract a lawfull matrimonie betweene you by *prefent* words, to the intent that the bonde of peace and amitie fhould be the more durable betweene the faid king and queene. And made petition vnto vs alfo that we would vouchfafe to provide for you in the *prem*iffes with convenient difpenfac*ion*, by the grace and bounty of the Sea Apoftolick as in the faid fupplicac*ion* and mentioned, we therefore, (who with erneft defire do affect the advaunc*e*ment of bleffed peace and concord, amonge all *Chriften* people, fpecially between Catholyke kings and princes) tendering that y*our* fupplicac*ion* do abfolve you, and eu*ery* of you from all manner of excom*uni*cac*ion*, &c. And do by authority of the Sea Apoftolicke, according to the tenore of thefe *prefentes*, difpence with you and eu*ery* of you by the guift of fpirituall grace, that you may contract between you a matrimonie by *prefent* wordes, and after the fame fo contracted, ether openly or fecretly, and by carnall confent confu*mm*mated, that ye may therin lawfully remaine, any [1]impediment of affinitie growing by the *prem*iffes, or any co*nft*ituc*ion* or ordinaunce apoftolyke or other contrarie provifions not*with*ftanding. And yf ye have fo contracted as before is declared we alfo doe by the fame authoritie abfolve you and eu*ery* of you from fuch exceffe and fentence of excom*uni*cac*ion* wherin you be ru*nne* by mean of the fame, decreeing the yffue of fuch matrimonie ether contracted or to be contracted, for lawfull, yea, although the fame be already borne. Provided alwaies that you our daughter in *Chri*fte Catherine were not rapt againft y*our* will. And we will *that* yf ye have alreadie contracted any fuch matrimonie, the Confeffor by you or any of you to be chofen fhall inioyn you holefome pennance for the fame, to the performance wherof ye fhall be bound. No man therfore, &c., and yf they fhall &c., Geven at Rome &c. 1507 the Calend*es* of Januarie in the yere &c.

[1] Fol. 33.

The two kings having thus with their great charges obtained this Bull, thought now that all things were well provided for, and all matters of confcience throughly difpenfed, and then refted no more but the folemnifation of the marryage, before the accomplifhing wherof, it chaunced the forefaid fage pringe[1] king Henrie the vii[th] to depart this worlde, leaving behinde him to fucccede in the kingdome his only fonne Henrie the eight, who followinge the conclufion of his fathers agreement, efpowfed the faid ladie in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul in London, within two months after he began to raigne, and begat of her Henrie & diuers other fonnes, which dyed in fhort fpace after [2]they were borne, and marie who in proceffe of time fucceeded in the Crowne. In this maryage they continewed & lived well and profperoufly together almoft the fpace of twentie yeres, all things in this Realme fo well fucceedinge, as the lyke hath neuer fince bene feene. But Sathan the comon enemie of all mankind, who ftill envyeth his profperitie and ioyeth at his woe, perceiving what great good was lyke to infewe to the *Chriftian* world by the continewance of this maryage, and how lykely his owne kingdome was therby to abate in the hartes of *Chriften* men, he fo wrought and beftirred himfelf in this matter, that contrarie to mans expectacion and the two noble princes good and vertuous intention, there followed in ftedd of tranquillitie and peace an vtter ruine and miferie. For in all this great profperitie behould even fodenly what a foare flame was kindled of one little fparke, by reafon of a fcruple crept into the kinges breft, that the maryage between him and this good queen his wife fhould not be lawfull bycaufe fhe was before maried to his brother. How this foolifh and vnhappie fcruple entred firft into his head, I will not certainly affirme, becaufe I have heard yt diuerfly reported. Some thinking it came by the Bifhopp of Bayon, who being on a time Ambaffador to this king Henrie from Frauncis the french kinge, to treat of a maryage betwene the lady Marie daughter to king Henrie, and the Duke of Orleans fecond fonne to the faid king of fraunce named Henry, [3]even as the matter after longe debatinge was come to determinacion, the Bifhop defired refpite of concluding the matrimonie, till fuch time as he had

[1] Prince, Harleian 6896. [2] Fol. 33, back. [3] Fol. 34.

once againe ſpoken with the kinge his *maiſter*, becauſe (as he ſaid) he was not fully perſwaded of the legitimacion of the ladie Marie beinge the kings daughter begotten of his brothers wife, which wordes the kinge ſecretly marked, and neuer after forgott. Others haue ſuppoſed that it was a thinge but only conceved of the kinge himſelf, who perceivinge *that* he had noe iſſue male by the Queene, and doubtinge now that he was lyke to haue none at all by her, (ſhe growing towards the age of fortie yeres), began to conceive a wearines of her perſon, and ſo ſought meanes to be rydd of her, and to marrie a new wife, and for furthering of his purpoſe thought it a good colour & cleanly excuſe to aleadge the trooble of his conſcience, and the daunger that might inſewe to this Realme, for lacke of iſſue male. But moſt have affirmed, that this matter was firſt put into his head, by an envious prowde man (then rulinge mightilie in this realme) called *Maiſter* Thomas Wolſey, Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Yorke: which I take to have moſt Semblaunce of trewth for ſundrie reaſons, and the rather for that *the* good queen openly charged him fore therwith as after ſhall be [1]declared, and therfore no doubt but he found out the truth therof. My ſelfe have alſo ſeene and reade diuers and ſundrie letters, written from the Cardinall to the kings ambaſſadors at Rome, when he aſpired to be Pope: wherin he ſeemed nothing to favour this good queene, and therfore labored the more erneſttly to be Pope, becauſe he ment to give definitive ſentence againſt her to pleaſure the kinge withall. This Cardinall as he lacked noe excellencie of witt, readines of ſpeech, and quicknes of memorie: ſo was he alſo nether faint of corrage, nor ignorant of civill manners, ne yet all vnlearned, for he had ſtudied and taken degrees of Schoole in the vniuerſitie of Oxford. Of parentage he was baſe and obſcure, and yet neuertheles wanted noe audacitie to advaunce himſelf amonge great perſonages, yea in matters of great importance and waight, for in continewance of time, beſides his great and rich promotion in the Church, which were nether ſmall nor fewe, he was alſo lord Chancellor of England, and therby in temporall matters ruled all vnder the king at his owne will and pleaſure, ſo that what by the one and what by the other, he was accounted the richeſt Cardinall in

[1] Fol. 34, back.

revennews and goods that euer [1]was in England. And in deed although in his great authoritie he wonne at many wife mens hands great praife for his indifferencie fhewed to all perfons as well rich as poore without refpect of dignitie, gouerninge *the* Realme many yeres vnder the king in great peace and tranquillitie : yet for the obfcuring and darkninge of all thefe goodly guyfts of good nature, this one falt of ambition (lackinge not the companie of fome other vices) raigned fo abundantly in him that his goodnes was not thought able to furmount the one halfe of his ill. But now by meanes of this Cardinalls forwardnes in fervice, and much takinge vpon him it was thought by iudgment of many wife men (as myfelf have heard fome report, and cannot without greefe reherfe againe) that the king fell then to ydlenes and reft, gevinge his minde to wanton love and fenfuall pleafure, and fo with expences of his treafure and loffe of his time gave ouer the kingly occupacion (wherin he had fo longe before vertuoufly exercifed himfelf with the great commendacion of all men) and lefte all to the miniftrie and difpofition of *the* Cardinall, which he willingly tooke vpon him, fetting himfelf then daily forward to the worlde with great pompe more then he had before vfed. And yet befides his owne great fumpt & expenfes in wearing of filke and other coftly apparrell decked with gould and filuer, he was alfo therby occafion to other of the Clergie to doe the lyke beyond all reafon and meafure, [2]for by reafon of his great revennewes he lived rather lyke a king then a fubiect, having in his handes all at one inftant of fpirituall livings, the Archbifhop*ricke* of Yorke, the Bifhopricke of winchefter, and *the* Abbay of *Saint* Albones. He had alfo in Farme *the* bifhop*ricke* of Bathe, worcefter, and Hereford, becaufe the incumbent*es* therof were ftraungers and continewally abfent in their owne Countreys : by reafon wherof, he had the full difpofition of all *the* fpi*rit*uall promotions and p*re*fentac*i*ons in thofe Bifhoppricks, as freely as any of his owne, befides this he was Legate de latere, by vertue wherof he would convocate the clergie of this Realme at his pleafure, and vifitt all fpi*rit*uall howfes & miniftrie of the Church, and for that purpofe had officers and magiftrates throughout the realme, and would p*re*fent to all benefices whom he pleafed, to his

[1] Fol. 35. [2] Fol. 35, back.

owne no ſmall gaine and profitt. It is alſo thought that he had out of Fraunce a yerely pention, and whether he received any thinge out of Italie for his dignitie of Cardinall or no, it is vncertaine. It were a longe matter to reherſe all the ſeculer buſines wherin he wrapped himſelf and the Luker which he received [1]by *the* fame. But the moſt lamentable thinge to be remembred is this, that being in all this authoritie, he ſhewed himſelf in his counſell verie inconſtant, and made ſmall account of the conſervac*i*on of the trewe Amitie & frendſhip between princes, for therin he p*re*ferred his owne ambitious will before the co*m*mon peace and tranquillitie of *Chriſt*en nations. By which manne*r* of doings he procured many great and lamentable tragedies in *Chriſt*endome, and vnto himſelf the hatred of many good people, and ſpecially of the good and vertuous ladie queene Katherin, wife to king Henrie the eight, and lykewife of *the* noble Emper*our* Charles the fifte, her nephewe by *the* ſiſters ſide. And yet (god be thanked) I have bene crediblie informed by ſundrie good and wiſe perſonag*es* that were about him and knewe much of his ſecrett*es*, that after he once eſpyed the ſequell of his doing*es* he lived in great ſorrowe and repentance for *the* ſame all his lyfe after. And being at Yorke a yere or more before his death in the kings heavie diſpleaſure, he there lamented all the while that ever he flattered ſo much with the kinge, and neglected the diſpleaſure of Almightie god. And to that effect he alſo ſent a meſſage to the kinge a litle before his death by Sir William Kingſton, then Conſtable of the towre, deſyring him for gods ſake to proceed noe further in this buſines of divorce whatſoeu*er* he had ſaid to him [2]before, but rather to arme and p*re*pare himſelf againſt theſe horrible hereſies dayly entring into this realm, left by ou*er*much negligence in repreſſing them at the firſt he ſhould indaunger himſelfe and his whole realme ſo farre, that at laſt the ſoare might be growne vncurable, wherof he ſhewed the example to be yet freſh in memorie in the realmes of Bohem*e* and Hungarie. Many other lyke wordes he vttered to that effecte, wherin his repentance largely appeared. But to returne to our matter, the Cardinall fearing nowe left the kinge in whom he perceived the luſtines of youth to vade and decaie, might ſoone waxe

[1] Fol. 36. [2] Fol. 36, back.

wearye and repent himſelf of that wanton trade of lyfe, hitherto ſpent for a great part in paſtime and fooliſh pleaſure, wherby he might at laſt, by the good queenes perſwaſion (whom he knewe to beare him no great good favour) fall to ſtraighter looking to the government of things then he had before done, and ſo at lenge require accoumpt of his doinges: and being offended (as before is ſaid) at the Emperour and therby made on the french kings part, thought beſt now to deviſe ſome meane how to prevent this daunger, left by lyngring too longe, he might be diſapointed of that he ſo deſired and erneſtly affected to enioye. Now what the cauſe was of this the [1]Cardinalls vniuſt and malicious grudge againſt this noble Queene, it ſhall not be impertinent to our purpoſe here by the waie to ope vnto you: and therfore you muſt vnderſtand, that at ſuch time as it chaunced the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo in Spaine to become voide, the Cardinall hearing therof, and being (as he was in deed) a man not only covetous and greedie of riches, but alſo of a marvelous and high aſpiringe mind to honor, made meane ſtraightway to the noble Emperour Charles the fifte to have and inioy that great dignitie, cauſing the king to write erneſtly to him in his behalf: But the wiſe Emperour, notinge the Cardinalls infatiable ambition and vanity, did altogether miſlyke of it, and would in no wiſe condiſcend to his requeſt, wherat the Cardinall tooke ſuch hartie diſpleaſure againſt the Emperour that ever after he bare him in ſtomacke.

Shortly after it fortuned the Sea Apoſtolicke to become vacant by the death of Pope Leo the tenth, vnto which high prelacie the Cardinall ambitiouſly aſpired, and made great and ſubtill meanes by helpe of divers frendes as well of King Henrie of England as of King Lewis of Fraunce, who for certaine purpoſes travayled erneſtly for him; but therof he was likewiſe prevented and vtterly diſapointed by the Emperour, who ſo wrought with the Cardinalls in the conclave, that to that roome was elected Cardinall Hadrian, who ſomtime before had bene his [2]ſchoolemaiſter, and taught him in Loraine, and was called by the name of Hadrian the fixt, a man verie rare for his finguler vertue and learninge.

Theſe and ſuch other things lying hott boylinge in the Car-

[1] Fol. 37. [2] Fol. 37, back.

dinalls ſtomacke againſt the Emperour, he conceived at laſt ſuch malice againſt him, that euer after he procured and labored by all his might to kindle variance and grudge betweene the king and him, cauſing the kinge to ioyne in more aſſured amitie then he was wont with the kinge of Fraunce, whom he knewe to favour Themperour nothing at all. And yet not only content to maligne and envie the Emperour alone, he alſo fought by all the meanes he coulde to annoy and diſpleaſe his freindes and kindred for his ſake. Amonge which the vertuous ladie Queene Catherin his Aunte was one, whom for her nephewes ſake he agreeved and hurt many waies, but ſpecially by rayſinge this ſecrett matter of diſcorde betweene the kinge and her, wherby he might the rather bringe her in ſome miſlykinge of the kinge, and therwithall diminiſhe the auncient and ſure frendſhipp ſo longe continewed between this Realme and the noble howſe of Burgundie; and ſo treating with the kinge on a [1]time of ſundrie matters, he brake at laſt with him of his lacke of yſſue male to ſucceed him in the Crown of England, which he tooke to be the beſt meane to enter ſome ſuſpition into the kings head, for the maryage of his brothers wife. Saying vnto him that yt was a thinge much ſpoken of, as well in forrain nations as here at home in his owne realme, and therfore in conſcience (as he ſaid) he could not but aduertyſe him therof, for the love and duty he bare towards him, to the intent he might now conſider of it, and inquire further. The kinge being at the firſt moved and greatly diſmaide at this ſtrange motion, looking earneſtly at the Cardinall for a good ſpace, ſaid at the laſt to him: "whie my lord, you know this mariage was greatly diſcuſſed in the beginninge amonge many learned men, and being by them at laſt agreed for good and lawfull, it was after confirmed and diſpenſed by the Pope himſelf, and therfore, good father, take heed what you do in this great and waightie matter," and ſo immediatly vpon that motion departed a ſunder. But after that time, what by prick of his conſcience, and what by the ſleight of the Cardinall, he was as eaſily taken as a fiſh is with a hooke, for at the Cardinalls next comminge to him (which was within two or three daies after) he began to diſcuſſe with him the validitie of his maryage for a good

[1] Fol. 38.

ſpace together. The Cardinall having obtayned ſomwhat of that he deſired, [1] and being now much more imbouldened then he was at *the* firſt rehearſed the matter more fully, and at length wiſhing the kinge to conferre with his ghoſtly father, which was then Doctor John Longland, Biſhopp of Lincolne, a man verie timerous, and loath to ſaie or doe anythinge *that* might any waies offend the kinge or the Cardinall. Now what conference had bene betweene the Cardinall and the byſhopp of Lincolne, I will not recite all that I have heard. But by verie good and credible *perſons* it hath bene reported, that the Cardinall ſtood in feare of a blind prophecie. That a woman ſhould be his confuſion, which he coniectured to be this good queen Catherin; for that he was alwaies french and enemie to the Emper*our* and his blood. Wherfore he perſwaded the ſaid Biſhopp of Lincolne, that when the kinge ſhould deale with him about any ſcruple of his maryage with his wife queen Catherin, he ſhould in any wiſe further *the* ſame as much as in him laie, and make it a matter of great conſcience to Cohabit with her, being not his lawfull wife. The Biſhopp not forgetfull of his leſſon, when ſhortly after the king had opened the matter to him, he ſtraight waies adviſed him to conſulte further with ſome other learned Biſhopps and Divines, for the better ſatiffac*cion* of his [2] conſcience, even in ſuch manner as the Cardinall had inſtructed him, whervpon the kinge vſinge againe the adviſe of the Cardinall, called many other of the byſhopps toe debate the Cauſe, at the Cardinalls houſe in Weſtm*inſter*. To this Counſell (amonge others) this worthie Biſhopp of Rocheſter was ſpecially called, and there deſired to ſpeake his minde frankly and freely: who without feare or reſpect of the kinge, the Cardinall or any other man, ſhewed that there was no cauſe at all of any queſtion, ſeeing *the* maryage betweene the king and the Queene was good and lawfull from the beginninge; and therfore (ſaid he) it is rather neceſſarie to remove this ſcruple out of *the* kings breſt as ſpedily as may be. And thus in concluſion, he refelled [3] and fully anſwered manie reaſons that were there made by waie of argument to the great ſatiffac*cion* (as it ſeemed) of moſt of the byſhops there aſſembled. When this matter was reported to the

[1] Fol. 38, back. [2] Fol. 39. [3] Harleian 7049, replyed.

king by *the* Cardinall, the kinge, who alreadie (as it after appeared by the ſequell of the whole buſines) wiſhed nothing more then to heare of a divorce, perceived that all did and was moſt lyke to ſticke in my lord of Rocheſter, wherfore conſultinge againe with the Cardinall what waie were beſt to vſe to bringe him to favoure his deſire, it was adviſed by my lord Cardinall that the king ſhould call vnto him my lord of Rocheſter, and by fair meanes worke him to incline to [1]his minde: wherfore the kinge, on a daie, ſent to him and he came, the kinge vſinge him verie curteouſlye gave him many reue*r*end and good wordes, and at laſt tooke him into the longe gallerie at Weſtm*inſter*; and there walking with him a while, after diue*r*s wordes of great praiſe geven him for his worthie learninge and vertue, he at laſt brake with him of this matter in the p*r*eſence of the Dukes of Norff*olk* & Suff*olk*, and certaine of the Biſhopps, alleadginge there how ſore his conſcience was tormented, and how for *that* cauſe he had ſecretly conſulted with his ghoſtly father and diue*r*s other learned men, by whom he was not yet ſatiſfyed, and therfore ſaid that vpon ſpeciall confidence in his great learninge, he had now made choiſe of him to vſe his adviſe above all others, praying him to declare his opinion freely, ſo as with the hearing therof he might ſufficiently be inſtructed in his conſcience, and remaine no longer in this ſcruple, wherwith he was ſo much vnquieted. My lord of Rocheſter hearinge all this Caſe proponed by the kinge, never ſtucke longe in anſwering the matter, which he both [2]knew and thought to be good and true; but falling ſtraight waies upon his knees offered to ſpeake to the kinge, but the king immediatly lyfted him vp againe with his owne hands and blamed him for ſo doinge. Then ſpake this learned p*r*elate, with a reue*r*end gravitie, after this or the lyke ſorte. "I beſeech yo*ur* grace in gods name to be of good cheere, and no further to diſmay yo*ur* ſelf with this matter, nether to vnquyet or trooble yo*ur* conſcience for the ſame, for" (ſaid he) "there is no heed to be taken to theſe men that account themſelves ſo wiſe and arrogate to themſelves more cunninge & knowledge in divinitie then had all the learned fathers and divines, both of Spaine and alſo of this yo*ur* realme in yo*ur* late fathers time, nether yet ſo

[1] Fol. 39, back. [2] Fol. 40.

much credit to be geven vnto them as is to the Sea Apoſtolicke, by whoſe authoritie this maryage was confirmed, diſpenſed, and approved for good and lawfull. Truly, truly" (ſaid he), "my ſoueraigne lord and kinge, you maie well and iuſtly ought to make conſcience of caſting any ſcruple or doubt of this ſo cleere and waightie a matter in bringing it by any meanes into queſtion, and therefore by my advife and counſell you ſhall with all ſpeed put all ſuch thought out of *your* minde; and as for any perill or daunger that to *your* ſoul maie inſewe therby, I am not affraid in gevinge you this counſell to take vpon my owne ſoul all the damage, and will not refuſe to anſwere againſt all men in *your* behalf, ether privately or openly, that can any thing obiect againſt [1]this matter, nothing doubtinge but there are many right worthie and learned perſons within this your realme, that be of this mind with me, and thinkes it a verie perrilous and vnſeemly thinge, that any Divorce ſhould be ſpoken of; vnto which ſide I rather wiſh *your* grace to hearken then to the other. And what color or ſhewe they may ſeeme to have in this their motions to *your* highnes, yet god forbidd that *your* ma*ieſtie* vpon ſo ſmall a foundac*i*on ſhould ſoe eaſilie incline *your* ſelf to hearken to any perſon livinge in ſo waightie a Caſe, paſſed and eſtabliſhed by ſo great an authoritie as the Sea Apoſtolick." Theſe and diu*ers* other lyke wordes he there vttered to the kinge, which might have ſatiffied his ſicke minde, had not he bene other wiſe perverſly bent, and therfore all was in vaine; for the king (whether vpon remorſe of co*n*ſcience, in deed, or ſeduced with ane other affection, I know not) alienated himſelf daily more and more from *the* company of the good queene, his wiffe, refuſing to heare or geve care to all good counſell geven him by this good father & other learned men to the contrary, and ſo for that time my lo*rd* of Rocheſter departed from the kinge, who from that day forward nev*er* loked on him with merry countenaunce, as the good biſhop did wel perceive, for that his grudge daily increaſed towards him.

[2]Whiles theſe things were thus in doinge it came to paſſe that the king was fallen in love with a yong gentlewoman in the Court wayting on the Queene, called M*iſtris* Ann Bollen, daughter of S.

[1] Fol. 40, back. [2] Fol. 41.

Thomas Bollen, knight, who after, for his daughters ſake, was promoted to many high honors and dignities. This Mi*ſtri*ſs Ann had ſomtime before that bene brought vp in the Court of Fraunce with the ladie marie, the french queene, that was ſiſter to kinge Henrie & ſomtime wife to king Lewis the XII^th^; where ſhe learned much Courtly faſhion and manner*s*, ſtraunge and daintie in the Engliſh Court, wherin ſhe farr furpaſſed other ladies, her compa̍nions, which ſo inflamed the kings minde, that in the end he tooke her into his ſecrett and deepe favour, and ſo continewed many daies towards her, ſhe knowing yet nothinge therof. But the flame at length burned ſo fa̍rr within him that he began not only to ſpeake of his forethought divorſe with Queene Catherin, but alſo of a new maryage with M*iſtri*s Ann Bollen, wherin is to be noted the iuſt and ſecret workinge of Almightie God; for although the Cardinall (to ſatiffie his ambitious humor in eſtabliſhing *that* thinge which he ſomwhat doubted) had wrought this variaunce between the king and *the* good queen, it fell out cleane contrarie to his expectac*i*on, for it was nothing his meaninge the king ſhould incline his minde to a new marriage this way, but rather els where, as he [1] had deviſed, wherfore after M*iſtri*s Ann had once knowledge of the kings ſecrett good will towards her, and of the Cardinalls contrarie working to withſtand the ſame, ſhe ſo ordered the matter that in ſhort ſpace ſhe wrought the Cardinalls vtter confuſion, for now began *the* matter to worke apace, and that to be now erneſtly and openly called vpon, which hitherto was but ſecretly handled in Counſells and Convocac*i*ons of Biſhopps and other learned Divines. The kinge, I ſay, began to open himſelf more fully then he had yet done, and for that purpoſe were at my lord Cardinalls howſe at Weſtm*inſter*, aſſembled many notable and famous Clerkes, not only of both the vniu*erſ*ities of Cambrige and Oxford, but alſo of diu*er*s Cathedrall Churches & religious howſes of this realme. There was this *the* kings matter debated, argued, and conſulted the ſpace of many daies, that it was a wonderfull thing to heare, but yet all fell not out ſo cleere for the king as it was expected; for by the opinion of the greateſt number, the cauſe was to hard and of to great importance for them to decide, and

[1] Fol. 41, back.

therefore the fathers departed without any refolucion. Howbeit diuers of the byfhops were of minde that the king fhould fend his Orators to fundrie vniuerfities, afwell abroad in Chriftendome as to the two vniuerfities at home, to haue his cauſe difcuſſed fubſtantially amonge them, and the definicion therof to bringe with them in wrytinge vnder their common ſeales, [1] which was done accordingly to the kings great coſt & charges; for yt was well knowne that theſe ſeales were obtained by corruption of money, and not by any free graunt or conſent; neuertheles, great ioy was made for obtayninge therof, and the Orators were highly rewarded at their returne for their great laboures and travells, ſome with Biſhopricks, and ſome otherwiſe farr beyond their merittes and deſervings. Notwithſtanding, the matter proceeded a pace, and theſe Inſtrumentes thus obtayned vnder the vniuerfities ſeales were all delivered into the Cardinalls handes, who immediatly ſent for all the Biſhops, and fell to counſultacion once againe, but all to litle purpoſe; for ther the concluſion was, that although the vniuerfities had geven out theſe ſenſures vnder their ſeales, yet was the cauſe to great for them to define of themſelves, and therfore not to be further dealt in by them without the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolick; wherfore yt was agreed that the kinge ſhould ſend to Rome certaine Orators with the ſeales of theſe Vniuerfities, to treate with the Pope for his confirmacion. According to which reſolucion the Ambaſſadors were ſpeedily diſpatched to the Popes holineſs, which then was Clement the VII[th]. The Ambaſſadors names were these: Doctor Stephen Gardiner, the kings Secretarie; Sir Thomas Bryan, knight, one of the gentlemen of the kings privie chamber; Sir Gregorie de Caſſales, an Italian; and Maiſter [2] Peter Vanus, a Venetian. Theſe Ambaſſadors being arrived at Rome, after they had propounded the cauſe of their comminge, and a while reſted themſelves, the matter fell ſpeedily in hand. Then wanted no poſting of letters betweene the kinge and the ambaſſadors, inſtructing them from time to time how to deale with the Pope, that this buſines might be brought about. Lykewiſe the Cardinall omitted noe time or occaſion by his letters to fett forward the ſame. But (god ſo orderinge the matter) the Ambaſſadors were

[1] Fol. 42. [2] Fol. 42, back.

not half ſo haſtie in demaundinge, but the Pope was as ſlow in grauntinge, and much the ſlower, by reaſon of his ſicknes, being at that time ſo ſore pained with *the* goute that there was doubt of his lyfe. Wherfore after knowledge come once to the kinge and the Cardinall, then letters went thicke and threefould to the Orators, willinge them to call more erneſtly vpon him for his definitive anſwere, thinking now by reaſon of the great paine he continevally felt of his infirmitie, he would the rather be ridd of their callinge, and ſo end the matter, according to their demaund. further, they had inſtruccion from the king and the Cardinall in their letters, that in caſe the Pope chanced to die at this *preſent*, *that* then they ſhould by all meanes they could deviſe ſome way how the Cardinall of Yorke might be elected to ſucceed in [1]the place, and for furtherance therof to deale with certaine Cardinalls, promiſinge them in the kings name golden mountaines and ſilver rivers to geve their ſuffrages with him. And in caſe they would not by this meanes bringe their purpoſes to paſſe, but that the Cardinalls in *the* Conclave would needes chuſe into the place ſome ſuch as *perhaps* would not further *the* kinges entent, then to take vp a ſome of money vpon the kings creditt, and therewithall to raiſe a power or *preſidie* of men (as by the kings letters and the Cardinalls it is tearmed), and taking with them ſuch Cardinalls as might be brought to favour their purpoſe, to depart out of the Cittie into ſome out place not farr of, and there to make a ſchiſme in election of the Cardinall of Yorke to the Papacie. But (lauded be god) all fell out otherwiſe then was then mente; for the Pope recovered health, & after lived to finiſh all buſines, though in deed cleane otherwiſe then the kinge expected, as after ſhall be declared. wherfore ſeeing none of theſe wais would ſpeed, and finding that the Pope would make no ſuch haſt in ſatiſfying the kings deſire as the Orators required, yt was at laſt requeſted that it might pleaſe his holynes to ſend a Legate into England, geving him full authoritie to heare the Caſe debated there, and finally to geve ſentence according to right and equitie. After *the* expences of many [2]daies the Pope was at laſt contented (with much adoe) to agree to that requeſt; and to this affaire he appointed Law-

[1] Fol. 43. [2] Fol. 43. back.

rence Campagius, a Cardinall of the Church of Rome, intituled: ſancte Mariæ trans Tiberim: a man verie well learned, and of great corrage and magnanimitie, to whom the king, about ten yeres afore, had geven the Biſhoprick of Bathe at his being in England about another matter. The Ambaſſadors beinge returned with this concluſion there reſted no more then but to prepare for the legates comminge; who (after longe expectacion and many wearie iorneys) arived at laſt in England, and cominge to london was lodged at Bath place, ſometime his owne howſe: But before his arival it was thought verie neceſſary by ſuch as favored the kings purpoſe, that the Cardinall of Yorke ſhould be ioyned in Commiſſion with him. Whervpon ſuch ſpeedie order was taken that before Campagius came to Callis, a new Commiſſion was brought him from the Pope, wherin the Cardinall of Yorke and he were made ioynt Commiſſioners together. And becauſe the Pope vnderſtood that king Henry deſired nothing more then a full & ſpeedie expedition of this matter, and was verie impatient of longe tractinge[1] of time in tryall therof, [2]the more to put the king in hope of readie iuſtice (if the equitie of his cauſe ſo required), he made (as I have heard ſay) a Bull of ſentence to be written readie, wherin the maryage was vtterly fruſtrat and made void; and this Bull he deliuered verie ſecretly to Cardinall Campeius after his departure, willing and charging him, neuertheles, that after the Bull once ſhowed to the kinge and the Cardinall, he ſhould after keepe it cloſe from all others, and in no wyſe to publiſh the ſame till ſuch time as he had received a new authoritie and commaundment from him; no although he ſawe and had proof of ſufficient matter ſo to geve ſentence. And this the Pope did only to the intent that the kinge ſhould the more quietly be content to have all tryed in dew forme and order of lawe, although it were the longer in doinge. When the two Cardinalls were mett and had commoned a ſeaſon of their buſines, they firſt tooke order for the open readinge and declaringe of their commiſſion. Then a place was aſſigned where it ſhould be done, and that was at the Dominicke Freers in London, and the king with the queene his wife ſhould be lodged at a place now called Bridewell, ſtanding hard by. Then ſtood readie the

[1] treatinge, Harleian 7049. [2] Fol. 44.

Counfellors learned as well on the kings part as on the queens; for the kinge (becaufe he would feeme indifferent) willed the queen to chufe her counfell: which although of her felf fhe would chufe none at all, becaufe fhe fufpected the indifferencie of the kings owne fubiectes towardes her being in his owne dominion and Realme, yet for faſhion fake [1] were aſſigned vnto her diuers learned men; that is to fay of Divines. This excellent man of whom we intreate, John Fyſher, Biſhopp of Rocheſter; Henrie Standiſh, byſhopp of Saint Aſſaphe; Thomas Abell, Richarde Fetherſtone, Edward Powell, and Robert Ridley, all Doctors of Divinitie. And of Civillians and Cannoniſtes were there, William Warham, Archbiſhopp of Canterberie; Cuthbert Tunſtall, byſhop of London; Nicholas Weſt, byſhopp of Elye; and John Clarke, byſhopp of Bathe, becaufe Cardinall Campeius was then tranſlated to the Sea of Saleſburie: fhe had alſo other profound Clerkes, aſwell divines as lawyers. On the kings part were alſo another lyke number of learned doctors. Then peace and ſilence was proclaymed, and the Commiſſion was read; that being done, this our learned biſhopp offered vp to the Legates a booke which he had compyled in defence of the maryage, and therwith made a learned and grave Oration vnto them, defyring them to take good heede what they did in this waightie Cafe, putting them in minde of fundrie manifold daungers that were lykely to enſewe, not only to this Realme, but alſo to the whole ſtate of *Chriſt*endome, by bringing in queſtion the validitie or invaliditie of this maryage, being in deed a matter ſo plaine, as there was no doubt therin at all. After that his oration was ended, the kinge was called [2] by name, and anſwered (here). Then was *the* queen called, who made no anſwere, but roſe immediatly out of her chair, and comminge aboute by the Courte, ſhe kneeled down to the kinge openly in ſight of the Legates and all *the* Court, & ſpake in effect theſe wordes, ſome in broken engliſh, and ſome in french. "Sir" (quoth ſhe), "I beſeech you doe iuſtice and right and take ſome pittie vpon me, for I am a ſimple woman and a ſtranger, borne out of your dominions, havinge here no indifferent counſell, and leſſe aſſurance of frendſhip. Alas, Sir, what have I offended you, or what occaſion of diſpleaſure have I

[1] Fol. 44, back. [2] Fol. 45.

geven you, that fhould goe about to put me from you after this fort. I take god to my iudge I have bene to you a trewe and humble wife ever conformable to your will and pleafure. I neuer contraried or gainfaid you therin, but alwaies contented my felf with all things wherin you had delight and pleafure, whether yt were litle or much, without grudge or countenance of difcontentacion. I loved for your fake all them that you loved, whether I had caufe or not, or whether they were my frendes or foes; I have bene your wife this twentie yeres, and you have had by me diuers children, and when you tooke me at the firft (I take god to my iudge) I was a verie maide, and whether it be trewe or noe I put it to your confcience. [1]Now if there be any iuft caufe that you alleadge againft me, ether of difhoneftie or other matter, wherby you may put me from you, I am content to depart with fhame and rebuke; but yf there be none, then, I pray you, let me have iuftice at your hands. The kinge, your father, was in his time of fuch an excellent witt that he was accounted of many men for his wifdome a fecond Solomon. And king Ferdinando, my father, was reckoned to be one of the wyfeft princes that raygned in Spaine many yeres before his daies. Thefe being both fo wife princes, it is not to be doubted but they had gathered vnto them as wife Counfellors of euery realme as by their wifdomes they thought meet: And as I take yt, there were in thofe daies as wyfe and well learned in both realmes as be now in thefe daies, who thought at that time the marryage between you and me to be good and lawfull. But of all this bufines I may thanke you, my lord Cardinall of Yorke, who having longe fought to make this diffention between my lord the kinge and me, becaufe I have fo ofte found falt with your pompe and vanitie and afpiring mind. Howbeit, this your malice againft me proceedeth not from you as in refpect of my felf aloane, but your cheefe difpleafure is againft my [2]Nephewe the Emperor, for that at his handes you were firft repelled from the Bifhoppricke of Toledo, which greedily you defired; and after that were by his meanes kept from the cheefe and high Bifhopprick of Rome, whervnto moft ambitiouſly you afpired: wherat being fore offended, and yet not able to revenge your quarrell on him, you

[1] Fol. 45, back. [2] Fol. 46.

have now raiſed this quarrell againſt me, his poore Aunte, thinking therby to eaſe *your* cruell minde, for the which god forgeve you and amend you. It is therfore a wonder to heare what newe inventions are nowe deviſed againſt me that neu*er* entended but honeſtly. And now to cauſe me to ſtand to the order and iudgment of this Court, ye ſhould (ſaid ſhe to the kinge) do me much wronge, as ſeemeth to me, ſeeinge one of the iudges is partiall againſt me, and hath fought meanes to raiſe this diſpleaſure betweene you and me. And further, yf I ſhould agree to ſtande to the iudgment of this courte ye may condemne me for lacke of anſwere, havinge noe counſell but ſuch as you have aſſigned me, and thoſe ye may well conſider cannot be indifferent on my part, ſeeinge they be *your* owne ſubiect*es* and ſuch as you have taken & choſen out of *your* owne counſell, whervnto they are privie and dare not diſcloſe *your* will and intent. Therfore [1]I refuſe here to ſtand to the order of this Courte, and doe appeale to the Sea Apoſtolicke before our holy father the Pope, humbly beſeechinge you in the way of charitie to ſpare me till I may further vnderſtand what waye my frendes in Spaine will adviſe me to take; And yf you will not this doe, then *your* pleaſure be fulfilled." And with that ſhe roſe vp, and makinge a lowe Curteſie to *the* kinge departed, leavinge there many a weeping eye & ſorrowfull hart, that heard her lamentable wordes. Amongſt whom this worthie Biſhop of Rocheſter (as one that knewe moſt of the equitie of the cauſe) was not able to refraine from teares: which open ſight cauſed many other to have the more compaſſion of the good queenes cauſe.

As ſoone as the queen was vp, it was ſuppoſed *that* ſhe would have returned to her place from whence ſhe came, but ſhe departed ſtraight out of the Court, and would in no wiſe returne, ſaying to ſuch as were about her, that ſhe would no longer tarrye, for *the* Court was not indifferent for her; and ſo ſhe dep*ar*ted for that time, and would neu*er* after appeare in open court.

[2]The kinge, perceivinge that ſhe was thus gone, & conſidering well on the wordes ſhe had there ſpoken, ſaid to the audience thus in effect. / 'Foraſmuch as the queene is now gone, I will in her

[1] Fol. 46, back. [2] Fol. 47.

abfence declare vnto you all, That ſhe hath bene to me as trewe, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could wiſh or deſire; ſhe hath all the vertuous quallities *that* ought to be in a woman of her dignitie, or any other, yea, though ſhe were of baſer ſtate. She is alſo a noble woman borne, as her noble condic*i*ons will well declare, and the ſpeciall cauſe that moved me in this matter was a certaine ſcruple, *that* prickt my co*n*ſcience. Whether my daughter Marie ſhould be legittimate or no, in reſpect of this marryage with this woman being ſomtimes my brothers wife: which thinge once conceived in the ſecrette*s* of my breſt, by a certain occaſion geven me when time was, ingendred ſuch a ſcrupilous doubt in me, that my mind was incontinently accombred, vexed, and diſquyeted, wherby I miſtruſted my ſelfe to be greatly in the daunger of gods indignac*i*on, which appeared to me (as to me ſeemed the rather), for that he ſent vs no iſſue male, and that all ſuch iſſues as ſhe had by me dyed incontinently after [1]they came into this world: So that I doubted *th*e great diſpleaſure of Almightie god in that behalf. Thus my conſcience, beinge toſſed too and froe with the waves of continewall vnquietnes, and almoſt in diſpaire to haue any other yſſue then I had alreadie by this ladie, it behooved me further to conſider the ſtate of this Realme, and the daunger it ſtood in for lacke of a prince to ſucceed me. And therfore, I thought it good in releaſe of this mightie burthen of my conſcience, and the quiet ſtate of this noble realme, to attempt the lawe therin, whether I might lawfully take an other wife, by whom god may ſend me yſſue, in caſe this, my firſt marryage, were not good. And this is the only cauſe I have fought thus farr, and not for any diſpleaſure or diſlykinge of the queens perſon or age, with whom I could be as well content to continewe (yf our marryage maie ſtand with *the* lawes of god) as with any woman alive. And in this point conſiſteth all the doubt that we goe about to trie, by the learninge, wiſdome, & iudgmen*t*e*s* of you, my lordes, the prelate*s* and paſtors of this our realme, now here aſſembled for that purpoſe: to whoſe conſcience and learninge I have committed *th*e charge therof, and according to that will I be content (god willinge) to ſubmitt myſelf with obedience. And that [2]I ment

[1] Fol. 47, back. [2] Fol. 48.

not to wade in ſo waightie a matter of my ſelf without the opinion and iudgment of you, my lordes ſpirituall, it may well appeare in this, that ſhortly after the comminge of this ſcruple into my head, I moved it to you, my lord of Lincolne, then my ghoſtly father. And foraſmuch as your ſelf were then in ſome doubte, you adviſed me to aſke the Counſell of the reſt of my Lordes the Biſhops; whervpon I moved you, my lord of Canterburie, firſt to haue your licence (in as much as you were metropolitane) to put this matter in queſtion; and ſo I did of all you, my lordes, to which you all graunted under your ſeales, and that I have here to be ſhewed.' 'That is trew, yf yt pleaſe your grace,' quoth my lord of Canterburie, 'and I doubt not but my bretheren here will acknowledge the ſame.' /

Then my lord of Rochēſter, knowinge the cleernes of his owne conſcience, and perceivinge the dooble dealinge in this matter, was forced for diſcharge of his owne credit and truth, to breake a litle ſquare, and ſaid to my lord of Canterburie, 'No, no, my lord, not ſoe. Vnder your favour all the biſhopps were not ſo farre agreed, for to that inſtrument you have nether my hand nor ſeale.' 'Noe, ah,' (quoth the kinge,) & therwith lookinge vpon my lord of Rocheſter with a frowninge [1]countenance, ſaid, 'looke here, Is not this your hand and your ſeale?' and ſhewed him the Inſtrument with ſeales. 'No, for ſooth,' quoth the Biſhop. 'How ſaie you to that?' ſaid the kinge to my lorde of Canterburie. 'Sir,' ſaid he, 'it is his hand and his ſeale.' 'No, my lord,' quoth the Biſhop of Rocheſter againe. 'Indeed, you were often in hand with me for my hand and my ſeale, as other of my lords have done; but then I euer ſaid to you, I would in no wiſe conſent to any ſuch Acte, for it was much againſt my conſcience to have this matter ſo much as once called in queſtion, and therfore my hand and ſeale ſhould neuer be put to any ſuch inſtrument, god willinge, with more communicacion betweene vs in that buſines, yf you remember.' 'Indeed,' quoth my lord of Canterburie, 'Trew it is that ſuch wordes you had with me, but after our talke ended, you were at laſt reſolved and content that I ſhold ſubſcribe your name, and put to your ſeale, and you would allowe the ſame as yf it had bene done by your ſelf.' Then my lord

[1] Fol. 48, back.

of Rochefter, feeinge himfelf fo iniuftly charged by the Bifhop of Canterburie, faid vnto him openly againe, 'No, my lord, by *your* favo*ur* and licence, all this you have faid of me is vntrewe'; and with [1]that ment to have faid more, but that the king ftopping him, faid, 'Well, well, my lord of Rochefter, it maketh noe great matter; we will not ftand with you in argument about this bufines, for you are but one man amonge *the* reft, if the worft fall.' and fo for that time all was ended.

Shortly after, an other daie of fittinge was appointed, where they two Cardinalls were prefent, at which time the Counfell on both fides were there readie to anfwer. There was much matter proponed by the Counfell on the kings parte to prove the maryage not lawfull from the begininge, becaufe of the carnall copulac*i*on had betweene prince Arthur and the queene. This matter being vehemently vrged, many reafons and fimilitudes were alleadged to prove the carnall copulac*i*on, but, being againe negatively anfwered by the counfell of the queenes fide, all feemed to reft vpon proof, which was verie hard and almoft vnpoffible to be tryed. But my lord of Rochefter faid, that the truth of this marryage was plaine ynough to be proved good and lawfull from the begininge, whether there were carnall knowledge betweene the parties or noe; for the Cafe (he faid) was thoroughly fcanned and debated in the begininge by many great learned Divines and lawiers, wherof [2]himfelf remembred the time, and was not altogether ignorant of the manner of dealinge therin. And being after ratifyed and approved by authoritie of the Sea Apoftolicke, fo amply and fo largely, he thought yt a hard matter to call it now againe in queftion before any other Iudge. Then fpake doctor Ridley (who was a man of verie litle and fmall p*er*fonage / but high of corrage and profound in learninge), and he faid to my lord Cardinall, That it was a great fhame and difhonor to this honorable p*re*fence, that any fuch p*re*fumptious fimilitudes & Coniectures fhould be fo openly alleadged: for they be deteftable to be rehearfed. 'What!' (quoth my lord Cardinall), 'domine doctor, magis reuerenter.' 'No, no, my lo*rd*,' quoth he, 'there belongeth no reue*re*nce to be geven at all, for an vnreuerent matter would be

[1] Fol. 49. [2] Fol. 49, back.

vnreverently anſwered.' Againſt that Court daie the Biſhop of London, Cuthbert Tunſtall, had framed and written a verie learned treatiſe in defence of *the* queenes maryage, which he deliu*er*ed before to Cardinall Campeius, to be read at the daie: but the king, fearinge him much (as he was indeed a very famous learned man), made ſuch ſpeedie order with him, that he was of [1]purpoſe ſent away ambaſſador into Scotland about a matter of ſmall importance, and appeared not in *the* Court the ſecond ſittinge, by reaſon wherof the booke was not reade at all: Neu*er*theles, Card*inall* Campeius called for him, and wiſhed to heare him ſpeake, for he ſaid in latine: Cum Tonſtallu*m* lego videor mihi ipſu*m* vſpiam audire. Thus, proceedinge from daie to daie, the Legat*es* ſtill ſate at their accuſtomed place, but all matters of queſtion were cleane laid aſide, ſeeing the queen had appealled, and they now inquired only of ſuch things as belonged to inſtrucc*ion* of the cauſe, and informac*ion* to be geven to the Popes holines. / But the Biſhopp of Elie, beinge one of the queenes counſell, and one that miſtruſted the Cardinall of Yorke*s* iuſt and trewe dealinge with her, openly declared in his wrytinge that he marveled what my lordes *the* legat*es* ment, to heare or hould any further plea of this matter, ſeeing the queen had made her appeale to a higher Judge then they. The matter being come to this concluſion the kinge was cleane diſapointed, and driven now to ſeeke a new waie. Wherfore he ſent for the Cardinall of Yorke to come vnto him, and gave vnto him a greate charge to goe with the other Cardinall his fellowe to *the* queen, and by their wiſdomes to perſwade with her to geue ou*er* her appeall, and to ſtand to the iudgment of [2]this Court, or els to furrender the matter into his handes, which ſhould be much better and more honorable for both parties than to ſtand to open tryall in the Court of Rome. / The Cardinall, to ſatiffie the kings pleaſure, did accordinge to his com*m*aundment, but all in vaine, for the queen ſtood verie ſtifly to her appeale, and could by no meanes be altered from that minde, for any thinge the Cardinall of Yorke could ſaie or doe, who was much more erneſt with her then the other Cardinall was, ſhe alleadginge ſtill for her ſelf, her ſimplicitie and vnablenes to anſwere in ſo waightie a matter, beinge but a woman, and cleane

[1] Fol. 50. [2] Fol. 50, back.

deſtitute of frendes or counſell here within the kings realme, for (thinke you) ſaid ſhe, that any of the kings ſubiectes will adventure themſelves to incurre his diſpleaſure for my cauſe? No, no: And therefore I pray you beare with me, a poore woman deſtitute of frendſhip, and lett me have your charitable counſell what is beſt for me to doe, ſo as all may be ended to the glorie of god and ſatiſfaccion of the kings maieſtie and me. This communicacion ended, they returned to the kinge and made relation of her talke. /

This ſtrange Caſe proceedinge thus from day to day & court to Court, the kinge at laſt grewe wearie and [1] vrged the Cardinalls to a finall daie of ſentençe, at which time the kinge came thither, and was openly ſett in his Chayre to heare the iudgment, where all their proceedings and actes were openly read in latine: That done the kinges Counſell called for iudgment: with that ſaid Cardinall Campeius in latin, "No, not ſo, I will geve no ſentence till I have made relation vnto the Pope of all our doings, whoſe commandment I will obſerve in this Caſe; the matter is to high for vs to define haſtely, conſidering the highnes of the perſons and the doubtfull argumentes alleadged, remembringe alſo whoſe commiſſioners we be, and vnder whoſe authoritie we ſitt, it were (me thinketh) good reaſon we ſhould make our cheef head of counſell therwith before we proceede to ſentence definitive. I come not hither to pleaſe, for favour, meede, or dreed of any perſon alive, be he kinge or ſubiect, neither have I ſuch reſpect to the perſon, that I will offend my conſciénce or diſpleaſe god. I am now an ould man, both weake and ſicklye, and daily looke for death; and ſhould I nowe put my ſoul in daunger of gods diſpleaſure to my euerlaſtinge damnacion for the favour or feare of any prince in this worlde? My commінge hither is only to ſee [2] iuſtice miniſtred accordinge to my conſcience. And for aſmuch as I vnderſtand by the allegacions the matter to be verie doubtfull and alſo that the partie defendant will make no anſwere here, but doth rather appeale from vs, ſuppoſinge that we cannot be indifferent iudges for her, conſideringe the kings high authoritie and dignitie within his owne realme, where ſhe thinketh we dare not doe her iuſtice, for feare of his diſpleaſure. Therfore to avoid all theſe

[1] Fol. 51. [2] Fol. 51, back.

ambiguities I will not damne my foule for any prince or potentate alive. In conſideration wherof I intend not to wade any further in this matter till I have the iuſt opinion & aſſent of the Pope, and ſuch other as be better ſeen in ſuch doubtfull cauſes of lawe then I am. Wherfore I do here adiourne this Court for this time, accordinge to the order of the Court of Rome, from whence our authoritie is derived, which yf we ſhould tranſgreſſe might be accounted in vs great follie and raſhnes, and redound to our diſcredit and blame. And with that the Court was diſſolved, and no more was euer done after that daie.

[1]The noble men about the kinge, ſeeinge all this buſines come to this concluſion, began to mutine and ſpeake ill of the two Cardinalls, ſpecially ſuch as were flatterers & paraſites about the kinge. In ſo much as the Duke of Suffolke, Charles Brandon, whom the kinge hadd before highly advaunced from a baſe ſtate to great honors and poſſeſſions, and alſo geven him his owne ſiſter in marriage, clapping his hands on the board, ſware, by gods blood, that he found now the oulde ſaying was trewe: That Cardinalls did neuer good in England, and that he ſpake with ſuch a ſpirit of vehemencie, and with ſo clamarous a noyſe, that all men about him marveled what he mente; and wiſe men thought he durſt not thus have ſaid, but that he knew the kings minde aforehande.

The kinge himſelf conceived lykewiſe greate indignacion and diſpleaſure, both againſt the Cardinall of Yorke, and alſo the queenes counſell, for that he had loſte and ſpente in vaine (as he thought) all this longe time, and grewe now ſo wrathfull againſt them that he detirmined in his minde neuer to ceaſe till he was revenged on them all, as after it came [2]to paſſe in deede, though greatly to all their merittes and euerlaſtinge glorie, and his owne perpetuall ignominy and reproach; for of this braunch proceeded the death, not only of this holy and reuerend biſhop of whom we intreate, but alſo of that glorious man, Sir Thomas More, with many other worthie and famous prelates and lay men, wherof three, that were ſometime of the queenes learned Counſell in this matter of divorſe, were put to moſt cruell death in Smithfeild, all in one daie, which was alſo ment

[1] Fol. 52. [2] Fol. 52, back.

to the reſt had it not bene that death by great ſorrow and greefe ſhortned ſome of their daies, and prevented the kings purpoſe, as happened to the byſhop of Eelye and Doctor Rydley. And ſome other not being of ſuch fortitude as the reſt were, yelded them ſelves for feare to the kings will and pleaſure, leaving the queene (as they call yt) in plaine feilde. Amonge which the biſhop of Canterburie was one who moſt deceived her and many moe.

Cardinall Campeius perceiving *the* kinge now fallen into this furie, and further ſeeing that there was no more to be done by him nor his fellowe (the queene havinge made her appeale), he thought it therefore beſt to be ſhortly gone, and ſo taking his [1]leave of the kinge departed towards Rome, after he had tarried in England about this buſineſs nighe the ſpace of one yere. He was no ſooner gone, but a rumor roſe (I wott not by what meanes) that he had carried with him a greate heap of treaſure of the other Cardinalls, who for fear of the kings diſpleaſure was ſuſpected lykely to flie out of the realme. Inſomuch as he ſent ſpeedily after Cardinall Campeius certaine perſons, who ouertooke him at Callis, and there ſtaid him till he was ſearched verie narrowly, and when they had done all that could be done, they found about him ſcant ſo much money as would pay for his rydinge charges, and ſo diſmiſſed him on his iorney greatly diſcontented. Now although the color of this ſearch was for the Cardinall of Yorkes treaſure, yet in deed it was well knowne after to be done for an other purpoſe; for the kinge thought to haue found about him the Inſtrument (wherof we ſpake lately before) deliuered vnto him by the Pope at his departure from Rome, wherin was contayned the ſentence of Divorce: which if he might have found, no doubt but he would have made ſome play therwith, whether *the* meaninge of the Pope had bene to have it publiſhed or no. But he was for all that deceived of his purpoſe, and all they that gave him Counſell to the ſame.

[2]By this time the kings ire was ſo fore kindled againſt the whole Clergie, and ſpecially againſt this our holy Biſhop (whom he knewe to beare ſuch a ſtroake amonge them, that as longe as he was there nothinge could ſucceed accordinge to his purpoſe), that he began to

[1] Fol. 53. [2] Fol. 53, back.

deviſe newe lawes againſt the right and patrimonye of the Church; for in the xxijth yere of his raigne he ſo*mm*oned a parlement to begin at London the third daie of Novembe*r*, which was in the yere of our Lord god 1529. In this parlement the co*mm*on howſe was ſo parcially choſen, that the king had his will almoſt in all things that himſelf lifted; for where in old time the king vſed to direct his brieffe or writ of parleament to eue*r*y Cittie, Borrough, and corporat towne within this Realme, *that* they amonge them ſhould make election of two honeſt, fitt, and ſkilfull men of their owne number to come to this parleament; the ſame order and forme of *the* Writt was now in this parleament obſerved; but then with eue*r*y writte there came alſo a private letter from ſome one or other of the kings Counſellors, requeſtinge them to chuſe the perſons nominated in their letters, who fearing their great authoritie, durſt co*mm*only chuſe none other; ſo that where in times paſt, [1]the Co*mm*on howſe was vſually furniſhed with grave and diſcreet townes men, apparreled in comlie and ſage furred gownes; now might you have ſeene in this parleament fewe others then royſtinge courteours, ſervingmen, paraſites, and flatterers of all ſorte*s* highly apparelled in ſhort clokes and ſwordes, and as lightly furniſhed ether with learninge or honeſtie, ſo that when any thinge was moved againſt the ſpiritualtie or the libertie of the church, to that they harkned dilligently, geving ſtraight their aſſente*s* in any thing that the king would require. Then were p*re*ferred in the co*mm*on howſe, all the ſlaunderous bills againſt the Clergie that might be deviſed, complayning of their ydleneſs, their great wealth, and abuſe in ſpendinge of their revennews: wherof although ſome bills were reiected in the higher howſe, yet many toke place. Amonge whiche one was, for abating of charges in the probate of Teſtaments and wills: An other was for diminiſhinge of mortuaries; Another againſt pluralities of benefices and taking of Farmes by ſpirituall men, which were all directly paſſed by the co*mm*on howſe in derogation and p*re*iudice of the Church: but after they were brought to the higher howſe and there read, my lord of Rocheſter ſtepped vp amonge the other [2]lordes, and ſaid in effect as followeth: "My lordes, I pray you for gods

[1] Fol. 54. [2] Fol. 54, back.

ſake conſider what bills are here daily preferred from the commons; what the ſame may found in ſome of your yeres I cannot tell, but in my yeres they found all to this effect. That our holy Mother the Churche beinge left vnto vs by the great liberallitie and dilligence of our forefathers, in moſt perfect & peaceable freedome, ſhall now by vs be brought into ſervile thraldome, lyke to a bound maid, or rather by litle & litle to be cleane baniſhed and driven out of our confines and dwelling places; for els to what end ſhould all this importunate and iniurious petitions from the Commons tende? What ſtrange words be here vttered, not to be heard of any *Chriſtian* eares, and vnworthie to be ſpoken in the hearing of *Chriſten* princes; For they ſaie *that* biſhops and their aſſociates, Abbots, prieſts, and other of *the* Clergie are vitious, ravenous, inſatiable, ydle, cruell, and ſo forth. What, are all of this ſort? or is there any of theſe abuſes that the Clergie ſeeke not to extirpe & deſtroy? Be there not lawes alreadie provided againſt ſuch and many moe diſorders? Are not bookes full of them to be reade of ſuch as liſt to reade them, yf they were executed? But, my lordes, beware of your ſelves and your Countrey; nay, beware of the libertie of our [1]mother the Church. Luther, one of the moſt cruell enemies to the faith that ever was, is at hand, and the common people ſtudie for novelties, and with good will heare what can be ſaid in favour of hereſie. What ſucceſſe is there to be hoped for in theſe attempts other then ſuch as our neighboures have alreadie taſted, whoſe harmes may be a good warning to vs? Remember with your ſelves what theſe ſects and diviſions have wrought amonge the Bohemians and Germans, who, beſides an innumerable number of miſcheefes fallen amonge them, have almoſt loſt their auncient and catholyke faith: And what by the ſnares of John Huſſe, and after him Martin Lüther (whom they reuerence like a prophett), they have almoſt excluded them ſelves from the Vnitie of *Chriſtes* holy Church. Theſe men now amonge vs ſeeme to reprove the life and doings of the clergie; but after ſuch a ſort as they indevour to bringe them into contempt and hatred of the layetie, and ſo finding falte with other mens manners whom they haue noe authoritie to correct, ommitt

[1] Fol. 55.

and forget their owne, which is far worfe & much more out of order then the other. But yf *the* truth were knowne ye fhall find that they rather hunger and thirft after the riches and poffeffions of *the* clergie [1]then after amendment of their faltes and abufes. And therefore it was not for nothing that this motion was lately made for the fmall Monafteries to be taken into the kings handes. Wherfore I will tell you (my lordes) playnly, what I thinke, except you refift manfully by *your* authorities this violent heape of mifcheefe offered by the commons, ye fhall fhortly fee all obedience withdrawne, firft from *the* clergie, and after *your* felves, whervpon will infewe the vtter ruine and daunger of the Chriftian faith; and in place of it (that which is lykely to followe) the moft wicked and tyrannicall government of the Turke; for ye fhall finde that all thefe mifcheefs amonge them ryfeth throwgh lack of faith."

This fpeech beinge ended, although there were diuers of the Clergie that lyked well therof, and fome of *the* Layetie alfo, yet were there fome againe that feemed to miflyke the same only for flatterie & feare of *the* king, in fo much as the Duke of Norff*olke* reproved him half merrily and half angerly, fayinge that many of thefe wordes might have bene miffed, adding further thefe wordes (ywis, my lord, it is many times feene that the greateft clerkes be not alwayes the wifeft men); [2]but to that he anfwered as merrily againe, and faid that he could not remember any fooles in his time *that* had proved great clerkes. But when the commons heard of thefe wordes fpoken againft them, they ftraightwaie conceived fuch difpleafure againft my lord of Rochefter, that by the mouth of M*aifter* Audley, their Speaker, they made a greevous complaint to the king of his wordes, fayinge, that it was a great difcredit to them all to be thus charged that they lacked faith, which in effect was all one to faie they were hereticks and infidells, and therfore defired the king that they might have fome remedie againft him. The kinge therfore to fatiffie them called my lord of Rochefter before him, and demaunded whie he fpake in that fort: And he anfwered againe that (being in counfell) he fpake his minde in defence and right of the Church, whom he fawe daily iniured and oppreffed amonge the common people, whofe

[1] Fol. 55, back. [2] Fol. 56.

office was not to deale *with* her, and therfore faid that he thought himfelf in conſcience bound to defend her all that he might. The kinge neue*r*theles willed him to vſe his wordes temperatly. And ſo the matter ended, much to the diſcontentac*i*on of M*aiſter* Audley and diue*r*s others of the co*m*mon howſe.

In the ſame parlement was alſo a motion made (as ye have heard before), that the king had bene at [1]great charges and large expenſes in ſuinge forth ſundrie Inſtrumente*s* towchinge the divorce betweene him and queene Catherine, which cheefly roſe (as was there ſaid) by the falſe and dooble dealinge of the Cardinall and *th*e Clergie, and therfore reaſon that it ſhould be anſwered amonge them againe. And to ſatiſfie this matter withall, nothing was thought ſo convenient as to recompence him in the Convocac*i*on, by graunting vnto him all the ſmall Abbays and Monaſteries within this realme of the valewe of two hundred poundes, landes and vnder. This matter was hardly vrged and ſett forth by many of the kings counſell, with all the tirrible ſhewe that might be of the kings diſpleaſure, yf it were not graunted according to his requeſt and demaund. Inſomuch as diue*r*s of the Convocac*i*on, fearinge the kings greevous indignac*i*on and crueltie, and thinking that their yelding in this matter would be a meane to ſtopp all and ſave the reſt, were of minde to condiſcend to that demaund. But the good father could neue*r* be brought to that opinion, but openly reſiſted it with all the force he could. And on a time ſaid amonge them, "My lordes, I praie you take good heed what you doe in haſtie grauntinge to the kings demaund in this great matter. It is here required that we ſhoulde [2]graunt vnto him the ſmall Abbaies for the eaſe of his charges; whervnto, yf we condiſcend, it is lykely the great will be demaunded or it be longe after: And therfore conſideringe the manner of this dealinge it putteth me in remembrance of a fable. Howe the Axe that lacked a handle came on a time to the wood, and making his moane to the great trees, how that for lack of a handle to worke withall he was faine to ſtand ydle: he therfore deſired of them to grau*n*t him ſome yonge ſapling in the wood to make him one; they miſtruſtinge no guile forth with graunted a

[1] Fol. 56, back. [2] Fol. 57.

yong ſmall tree, wherof he ſhaped himſelf a handle, and being at laſt a perfect axe in all points, he fell to worke, and ſo labored in the wood, that in proceſſe of time he left nether great tree nor ſmall ſtandinge. And ſo, my lordes, yf ye graunt to the kinge the ſmall Monaſteries ye do but make him a handle, and ſo geve him occaſion to demaund the reſt or it be longe after, wherof cannot but enſewe the diſpleaſure of Almightie god in that ye take vpon you to geve the things that is none of *your* owne." To this Counſell moſt of the lordes in the Convocacion inclyned, and ſo for that time all was reiected and no more ſaid as longe as this good father lived; but ſhortly after his death the matter was revived and graunted to the kings firſt will and pleaſure.

[1]Now whileſt theſe things were thus in handlinge, it chaunced this reu*e*rend father to fall into a great daunger and perrill, wherby he eſcaped verie narrowly with his life; for a certaine naughtye perſon, of a moſt damnable and wicked diſpoſition, provided on a daie a quantitie of poiſon, and came with the ſame into my lord of Rocheſters howſe to the Cooke, beinge of his acquaintance, between whom, after a few wordes had paſſed, the Cooke offered him to drinke, and ſo went to the buttrie to fetch him drinke: Then this vngodly perſon, having gotten a good oportunitie for his purpoſe (while nobody was left within the Kitchin) threwe the poyſon into a paile of yeſt, wherof potage was to be made for my lord to eate at dinn*e*r with others of his famelie, at his howſe in Lambeth marſh. But ſee the wounderful chaunce, or rather the great proviſion of almightie god, when his ſervant came to call him to his dynn*e*r it happened that the ſaid reu*e*rend father, by ou*e*rlonge ſittinge and reading in his ſtudie that forenoone, more then his accuſtomed howre, to have no great ſtomacke to his dinner; And therfore anſwered *tha*t he would ſpare his dinn*e*r for that time till night, the lyke wherof it could not be remembred [2]that he had at any time done before, willinge, neu*e*rtheles, that the howſhould ſervant*e*s ſhould be ſett to dinn*e*r, who eating of the poyſoned grewell were ſo pitifully infected therwith, that the moſt part of them neu*e*r recou*e*red their health to their dying daie, and two dyed forthwith, the one a gentle-

[1] Fol. 57, back. [2] Fol. 58.

man called M*aifter* Bennett Curwen, and the other an ould widow, and ſo he was deliu*e*red of that daun*g*er, being reſerved (as it may be thought) of god for a more p*re*tious death. This wicked perſon that did the acte was named Richard Roſe, who was after, for the ſame offence, boyled quicke in Smithfeilde in the xxijth yere of king Henries raigne. Shortly after this daungerous eſcape, there happened alſo vnto him an other great daunger at the ſame howſe in Lambeth; for ſodainly a gunne was ſhott through the topp of his howſe, not far from his ſtudie, where he accuſtomably vſed to ſitt, which made ſuch a horrible noyſe over his head, and bruſed the tyles and rafters of the howſe ſo ſore, that both he and diu*e*rs others of his ſervant*es* were ſodenly amaſed therat; wherfore ſpeedie ſerch was made whence this ſhott ſhould come, and what it ment, which at laſt was found to come from the other ſide of the Thameſe out of the Erle of Wilſhirs howſe, who was father to the ladie Ann. Then he [1]perceived that great malice was ment towards him, and callinge ſpeedily certaine of his ſervant*es*, ſaid: "Let us truſſe vp our geere and be gone from hence, for here is no place for vs to tarrie any longer." And ſo i*m*mediately departed to Rocheſter, where he remayned not longe quyett, before he heard of new trooble. What *th*e occaſſion of this dealinge towards him was, or whether it were by the kings conſent or no, I will not certainly affirme, but ſure it is that the kinge at that time ought him his hartie diſpleaſure, and ſpake ſuch & ſo many daungerous words of him both at his table & elſwhere, that others hearing the ſame were the more imboldened to vſe violence and iniurie towards him.

After he was departed from London & ſafely come to Rocheſter, in this great diſpleaſure and daunger, he then fell to his ould trade of preaching to his flocke & viſiting of ſicke perſons, beſides an infinite number of other deeds of mercy: and at that time alſo he beſtowed great coſt vpon the rep*ar*rac*i*on of the bridge of Rocheſter. But over and above all this, he beſtowed no ſmall labour and paine in repreſſinge of hereſies, which by this time were verie much increaſed and far ſpred in this Realme. And although by his continewall travell he brought many heretick*es* into the waie againe, that before were

[1] Fol. 58, back.

farr ftraid and gone from the truth; yet among other hereticks [1]his moft labo*ur* was with one John frith, a verie obftinate & ftubborne wretch, whom he could never reclaime nor bring to any conformitie, and therfore was iuftly by order of lawe condemned, and after burned in Smithfeild.

And although by meanes of this great difpleafure of the king and many of his nobillitie, he ftood in great daunger of his lyfe (as before is mentioned); yet confidering the quarrell he had taken in hand, he never feemed to be one whit difmaid therat, nether yet to be moved for any worldly trooble that could happen vnto him: wherof although I could recite you many examples, yet for this time this one may fuffife. On a night, as he lay at his Mannou*r* howfe of Hallinge neere Rochefter, a companie of theeves brake p*re*vily in the night time into his howfe, and robbed him of all his plate; which being in the morning p*er*ceived and knowne to his officers and fervant*es*, they were much vexed and ſorie through the mifchaunce, wherfore purfuite was fpeedily made after the theeves, and fuch dilligence was vfed that, before my lord knew any thinge therof, fome part of the plate was found againe in a wood ioyninge to the howfe where the theeves had paſſed, which through haft in flyinge they fcattered behind them, and durft no more returne for it. When dinner time was come my lord [2]perceived vnquietnefs and heavines amonge his fervant*es* more than was wont to be, for no man durft open vnto him *th*e caufe, thinking he would have taken it fo ill; at laft, my lord miftruftinge more and more by their countenaunces of fome great harme, he afked one of them what this matter ment; but his fervant for feare durft not open vnto him the mifchaunce. "No" (faid my lord), "I meane not to dine this daie before I know what it is." "Then" (faid he), "This night a certaine number of theeves have robbed you of yo*ur* plate, which is all loft and gone, faving a litle quantitie that was recou*er*ed in a wood by following them, and that," faid he, "was brought backe againe." "Is this all?" (faid my lord); "then let vs goe to dinn*er* and be merrie, and thanke god for that we have ſtill remayninge, and looke better to yt then we did to the reſt before," and ſo eate his dinner verie merrily and quietly.

[1] Fol. 59. [2] Fol. 59, back.

The king remayning ſtill greevouſly offended with the whole Clergie of England for the ill ſucceſſe of *the* great matter of Divorce, held his perleament at Westm*inſter;* begining after diu*er*s prorogac*i*ons the xvjth day of Januarie in the xxijth yere of his raigne, and the year of our lorde god 1530, at which time the Clergie of the Province of Canterburie (according to their auncient cuſtome) fo*m*moned a Convocac*i*on at Weſtm*inſter*. In this [1]p*ar*lement diu*er*s things were bouldly propoſed and ſtowtly vrged againſt the Clergie; and amonge other matters it was there declared what great charges the king had wrongfully bene at (as it was tearmed) about his matter of divorce in ſuite to the Court of Roome, and obtayning of ſundrie Inſtrumente*s* of forraine vniver*ſ*ities, and draughte*s* of many learned mens opinions, amounting, as it was declared, to the fo*m*me of one hundred thowſand pounds and more; the cheef and only cauſe wherof was (as they ſaid) *the* falſhood and diſſimulac*i*on of the Cardinall, and certaine others of the cheef of the Clergie; in conſideraci*o*n wherof it was there demaunded to be paid amonge them.

In this matter as there wanted no Orators of the kings faction to p*r*eferre his purpoſe, ſo *the* orators wanted no wordes to debate and ſett it forward to the moſt, and on the contrarie part, nothing might be heard, or ſcant any man durſt whiſper or open his mouth. But yet amonge the Convocac*i*on there wanted not ſome that ſpake ſtoutly againſt the kings vnreaſonable demaund, Amonge which this holy man was cheef, ſayinge, *tha*t yt was not there falte that the king had bene at all this charge; nether was there any iuſt cauſe whie he ſhould have ſpent any one penny about this [2]buſinefs, and therfore except ſome other allegac*i*on might be made then they yet heard of, it was flatly denyed to give him any thinge at all.

Then the kinge growinge more furious fought an other waie, and ſo by proceſſe bringinge the whole Clergie into the kings bench, ſewed *the* Cardinall and them in a preminire for acknowledginge the authoritie and power Legantive of the ſaid Cardinall Wolſey; wherin with ſmall difficulte he condemned them in ſhort ſpace, determininge then fully with himſelf, not only to impriſon ſuch and ſo many of them as him ſelf lyked, but alſo to enter vpon there

[1] Fol. 60. [2] Fol. 60, back.

whole poſſeſſions and goodes. And here I think it not amiſſe to declare vnto you what I have heard of the occaſion and cauſe of this condemnacion in the præminire.

This Realme of Englande hath of longe time challenged (by what meanes I knowe not) a priveledge graunted (as is ſaid) from the See of Rome, that no legat de latere ſhould enter the Realme excepte the kinge had firſt ſent to Rome for him; wherfore Cardinall Wolsey, eyther ignorant, forgetfull, or els making but ſmall accounte, being [1]a man wounderfull ambitious and aſpiringe to honour, and in ſuch favour and credit then with the kinge that he durſt attempt what him lyſted, made ſuch meanes to the See Apoſtolick, that he obtayned power legantive from the Pope that then was, and exercifed *the* ſame a certaine ſpace without the kings conſent or knowledge; But yet at laſt remembringe what he had done, and wayinge the daunger that depended thervpon, whileſt he more diligently marked the ſequell therof, in caſe the ſtate of things ſubiect to the courſe of fortune ſhould change as many times yt happeneth; he wrought ſo with the kinge that he obtayned his warrant, confirmed vnder the great ſeale of England, as well for that which was paſt as for the reſt to come. Afterward when the king, miſtruſtinge the Cardinalls dealinge in his great and waightie matter of divorce, began to turne his accuſtomed love into extreame hatred; for the more eaſie practiſinge therof he vſed *the* helpe of M*aiſter* Cromwell then his ſervant, and in great truſt with him, to gett from the Cardinall the forefaid warrant, which, lyke an vnfaithfull and trayterous ſervant, the ſaid Cromwell ſtole from his M*aiſter* and deliu*ered* to *the* kinge, who ſtraight waies vpon yt charged the Cardinall w*i*th [2]a p*re*munire vpon a ſtatute of Richard the ſecond, compriſing not only the Cardinall within the compaſſe of that ſtatute for exerciſing ſuch power legantive, but alſo the reſt of the Clergie of the Realme for accepting and acknowledginge the ſame. But *the* Clergie, not willing to abyde the daunger of the kings cruell diſpleaſure (yf by any meanes they might avoid it) graunted vnto him 100,000li by perſwaſion of *the* kings Counſell, and thervpon deſired pardon for the reſt of their goods, which at laſt with much adooe was promiſed vnto

[1] Fol. 61. [2] Fol. 61, back.

them all, certaine perſons excepted; but yet it was not accomplifhed ouer haſtely, for before the full performance therof, a new & ſtraunge demaund was made to the Clergie in their convocacion, ſuch a one as hath not in any *Chriſten* Princes daies bene heard of before; and that was that they ſhould acknowledge the kinge to be their ſupreme head. This requeſt, although it was verie monſtrous and rare, yet notwithſtand the matter was ſore vrged, and the kings Orators omitted noe time nor occaſion that might helpe forward their purpoſe, ſomtime by fair wordes, and ſomtimes by hard and cruell threatnings: Amonge which *Maiſter* Thomas Audley was a great doer, who, after ſuch time as bleſſed Sir Thomas More gave over the office of Lord chancellor, ſucceeded him in that place.

[1] When this matter was come to ſcanning in the Convocacion howſe, great hould and ſtirr was made about it; for amonge them there wanted not ſome that ſtood readie to ſet forward the kings purpoſe, and for feare of them many others durſt not ſpeake their mindes freely. But when this holy father ſawe what was towardes, and how readie ſome of their owne companie were to helpe forward the kings purpoſe, he opened before *the* biſhops ſuch and ſo many inconveniences by grauntinge to this demaund, that in Concluſion all was reiected and the kings intent cleane ouerthrowne for that time.

Then the kinge hearing what was done, and perceiving that the whole convocacion reſted vpon this worthie biſhop, he wrought by ſundrie meanes to bringe the matter about; and yet doubting that with overmuch haſt and vigor at the begininge he might eaſily at the firſt ouerthrowe all his intent, he ſent his Orators at another time to the Convocacion howſe, who in their owne names moved the Clergie to haue good conſideracion of this gentle and reaſonable demaund; putting them in mind what daunger and perill they ſtood in at this preſent againſt his maieſtie for their late contempt in acceptinge the Legantive power of the Cardinall, wherby they had alſo deeply incurred the daunger of the lawe, that their lande and goods were wholely at his highnes will and pleaſure, which, not withſtanding, he hath hitherto [2] forborne to execute vpon hope of their good wills and conformities to be ſhewed to him againe in this matter.

[1] Fol. 62. [2] Fol. 62, back.

Then the king ſent for diuers of the biſhopps, and certaine others of the cheef Convocacion to come to him, at his pallace of Weſtminſter, to whom he proponed with gentle wordes his requeſt and demaund, promiſing them in the word of a kinge, that yf they woulde amonge them acknowledge and confeſſe him for ſupreme head of the Church of England, he would never by vertue of that graunt aſſume vnto himſelf any more power, iuriſdiccion, or authoritie over them then all other the kings of the Realme of his predifceſſors had done before, nether would take vpon him to make or promulge any ſpirituall lawe, or exercife any ſpirituall iuriſdiccion, nor yet by any kind of meanes intermeddle himſelf amonge them in altering, changinge, ordering, or judginge of any ſpirituall buſines. "Therfore, having made you" (ſaid he) "this franke promiſe, I doe expect that you ſhould deale as frankly with me againe, wherby agreement may the better continew between vs." And ſo the Biſhops departed with heavie harts to talke further of this matter in [1]the Convocacion amonge themſelves. But ſtill it ſtucke fore amonge them vpon certaine inconveniences before ſhewed by my lord of Rocheſter who neuer ſpared to open and declare his mind freely in defence of the Church, which many others durſt not ſo frankly doe for feare of the kings diſpleaſure, although they were for the moſt part men of deep wiſdome and profound learninge.

Then came the kings Counſellors againe from the kinge to knowe howe the matter ſpedd, ſeeming as though they had not knowne what was ſaid before in the Convocacion howſe before their comminge. So hotely they followed this matter, once begun for many cauſes, the king having in deed a further ſecreat meaninge then was commonly knowne to many, which in fewe yeres brake out, to the confuſion of the whole clergie and temperaltie both. Theſe counſellors there repeated vnto the Convocacion the kings wordes, which he himſelf had ſpoken to ſome of them, ſaying further, that if any man would ſtick now againſt his maieſtie in this pointe it muſt needes declare a great miſtruſtfulnes they had in his highnes wordes, ſeeing he had made ſo ſolemne and high an oath. With this ſubtill and falſe perſwaſion [2]the Clergie began ſomwhat to thinke, and for

[1] Fol. 63. [2] Fol. 63, back.

the moſt part to yelde to the kings requeſt, ſavinge this holy biſhop, who vtterly refuſed to condiſcend thervnto, and therfore erneſtly required the lordes, and others of the Convocac*i*on to conſider and take good heed what miſcheifs and inconveniences would enſewe to the whole church of *Chri*ſt, by this vnreaſonable and vnſeemly graunt made to a tempe*r*all prince, which neue*r* yet to this daie was once ſo much as once demaunded before, neither can yt by any meanes or reaſon, be in the power or rule of any temporall potentate. "And therfore" (ſaid he) "yf ye graunt to the kings vaine requeſt in this matter, it ſeemeth to me to p*r*etend an i*m*menent and p*r*eſent daunger at hand: for what yf he ſhould ſhortly after chaunge his mind and exercife in deed the Sup*r*emacie over the church of this realme? or what yf he ſhould die, and then his ſucceſſor challenge the continewance of *the* fame? or what yf the crowne of this realme ſhould in time fall to an infant or a woman that ſhall ſtill continewe and take the ſame name vpon them? What ſhall we then doe? whom ſhall we ſerve vnto? or where ſhall we have remedie?" The kings Counſellors to that replyed & ſaid, that the kinge had no ſuch meaninge as he doubted, [1] and then alleadged againe his royall proteſtac*i*on & oath made in the word of a kinge. "And further" (ſaid they) "though the Sup*r*emacie were graunted to his Maie*ſ*tie ſimply & abſolutely accordinge to his demaund, yet it muſt needes be vnderſtoode and taken, that he can have no further power or authoritie by it then quantu*m* p*er* legem dei licet, and then yf a temporall Prince can have no ſuch authoritie and powre by gods law (as his Lo*rdſhi*p (!) had there declared), what needeth *the* forecaſting of all theſe doubtes?" Then at laſt the Counſellors fell into diſputac*i*on amonge the Biſhopps, of a tempo*r*all princ*es* authoritie ou*er* the Clergie, but therto my lo*rd* of Rocheſter anſwered them ſo fullie, that they had no liſte to deale that waie any further, for they were in deed but ſimple ſmatterers in Divinitie to ſpeake before ſuch a Divine as he was. And ſo they departed in great anger, ſhowing themſelves openly in their owne lykenes, and ſaying *that* whoſoeu*er* would refuſe to condiſcend to the kings demand herin, was not worthie to be accounted a true and lovinge ſubiect.

[1] Fol. 64.

The Lords and other of the Convocacion feeing this kind of threatninge perfwafion, befides many other falfe practifes, and fearinge the report of the Counfellors to be made to the Kinge (whom they knew & perceaved to be all cruelly bent againft the Clergie) grew at [1]laft to a conclufion, and fo after fundrie daies argument in great ftrivinge and contention agreed in manner fully and wholly amonge them to condifcend to the kinges demaund. That he fhould be fupreame head of *the* church of England, and to credit his princly word fo faithfully, and folemnly promifed vnto them.

My lord of Rochefter perceiving this fodeu & haftie graunt only made for feare, and not vpon any iuft ground, ftood vp againe all angrie, and rebuked them for *their* pufillanimity in beinge fo lightly chaunged and eafilly perfwaded. And beinge verie loath that any fuch graunt fhould paffe from the Clergie thus abfolutely, and yet by no meanes able to ftaie it for the feare that was amonge them, He then advifed the Convocacion, that feeinge the kinge, both by his owne mowth, and alfo by the fundrie fpeeches of his Orators, had faithfully promifed, and folemnly fworne in the high worde of a kinge; That his meaninge was to require no further then quantum per legem dei licet, and that by vertue therof his purpofe was not to intermeddle with any fpirituall lawes, fpirituall iurifdiccion or government, more then all other his predifeffors had alwaies done before: yf it fo be that you are fully determined to graunt him his demaund (which I rather wifh you to denie then graunt) yet for a more trewe and plaine expofition[2] of your meaninge [3]towardes the kinge and all his pofterritie, let thefe condicionall wordes be expreffed in your graunt, quantum per legem dei licet, which is no otherwife (as the kinge and his counfellors fay) then themfelves meane. But then the Counfellors (who by that time were returned to the Convocacion howfe for fpeed of their bufines) hearing of my lord of Rochefters words, cryed vpon them with open and continuall clamour to have *the* grant paffe abfolutely, and to credit the kings honor in givinge them fo folemne a proteftacion and oathe. But after this time nothinge could prevaile: for then the Clergie anfwered with their full

[1] Fol. 64, back.

[2] *Expression* written under exposition.

[3] Fol. 65.

refolucion, that they nether could nor would graunt this title and dignitie of Supremacie without theſe conditionall wordes, quantum per legem dei licet. And ſo the Orators departed, makinge to the kinge relation of all that was done, who, ſeeinge no other remedie, was of neceſſitie driven to accept it in this conditionall ſort, and then graunted to the Clergie pardon for their bodies and goods, ſo that they ſhould paie him an hundred thouſand pounds, which was paid to the laſt penny.

But this reſted not longe after this ſorte, for the Kinge within few yeres after tooke vpon him and exerciſed the Supremacie of the Church of England contrarie to his promiſſe, as this holy man doubted and forefawe. And in a Parliament holden at We*ſtminſter* the xxvjth yere of his raigne (when the good father was in priſon [1] within the towre of London), he made an Act of Parliament by authoritie of his laye people, wherin he was confirmed Supreame head of the Church of England, without any further exception or Condition at all, framing nevertheles the wordes of that Act in ſuch ſort, as though the Clergie in their Convocac*i*on had abſolutely recognized him for ſupreame head before, and after cauſed the ſame to be annexed to his ſtile as a tytle of his dignitie royall, appointinge to all ſuch as ſhould by any meanes withſtand or gainſaie *th*e ſame, noe leſſe puniſhment then is dew in Caſes of high treaſon, were they ſpirituall or temporall, which his ſucceſſors hath ſince that time practiſed as by experience we maie ſee: And yet to that acte and many other licentious and ſcifmatticall doinges of the kinge, all the Biſhopps afterward agreed, only this holy biſhopp excepted.

About this time (which was in the xxiiijth yere of the kings raigne) this good father happened to fall into great trooble, which the king fought him by ſundrie meanes. The manner of which trooble was thus. When by publicke fame the kinges intent was knowne abroade that he ment to ſeperat from him [2] *th*e good queene Catherine, his moſt lawfull wife, and many an other, the Realme began as it were to devide, and much talke was vſed herin, ſome in favo*ur* of the kinge, and ſome of the queen. But the farr greater number aſwell of the learned ſort as of the vulgar people ſtucke

[1] Fol. 65, back. [2] Fol. 66.

rather to the queenes part then to the kings. At the ſame time one Elizabeth Barton, a yonge maiden borne in Kent, at a place called Court at Street, declared vnto ſundrie perſons that many times ſhe had certaine viſions revealed vnto her towchinge the kings doings in his matter of Divorce: by what meanes ſhe could not tell, but (as ſhe thought) they came from god. Wherin for mine owne part I will not for certaine affirme anythinge, ether with her or against her, becauſe I have heard her diuerſly reported of, and that of perſons of right good fame & eſtimacion. But true it is that divers times being in her traunce (wherin ſhe happened to fall verie often), ſhe vttered ſuch wordes towchinge the reproovinge of hereſies which then began faſt to ſpreade, declaring what miſcheef and calamitie would infewe to this realme, by admittinge the ſame, that it was thought wounderfull to be heard at the mouth of a ſimple woman. She would ſaie that it was ſhewed vnto her in her viſion, that the king had an ill intent & purpoſe in him, and ſpecially in that he minded to ſeparate himſelf and the good queen Catherin his wife a ſunder, and minded for his voluptuous and carnall [1]appetite to marrie an other, which by no meanes he could doe without the great diſpleaſure of Almightie God, for it was directly againſt his holy lawes. And this matter ſhe opened on a time to Maiſter Richard Maiſter, Parſon of Aldington in Kent, and then her ghoſtlye father, ſaying vnto him further, that by her revelation ſhe perceaved that yf the kinge deſiſted not from his purpoſe in this great caſe of Divorce, but would needes proſecute the ſame and marry againe, that then after ſuch marriage he ſhould not longe be kinge of this Realme, and in reputacion of god, he ſhould not be kinge therof one daie nor one howre after, and that he ſhould die a ſhamefull and miſerable death. Likewiſe ſhe ſaid and affirmed that the good vertuous queen Catherin was the kings lawfull wife, and that he could not lawfully marrie any other; but whether he did marrye any or not, yet ſhould the ladie Marie, the daughter of the ſaid good queen, proſper and raigne in the Realme, and have many frendes to eſtabliſh and maintaine her.

Theſe and diuers ſuch lyke matters beinge opened to the ſaid Parſon of Aldington, he gave her adviſe to goe to Canterburie, and

[1] Fol. 66, back.

there to talke with *Maiſter* Edward Borkinge, doctor of Divinitie, and a Mounke of Chriſtes church, becauſe he was of all [1]men reputed for a learned and vertuous man; from him ſhe went to *Maiſter* John Deringe, an other mounke of *the* ſame houſe. Theſe good fathers, beinge marveloully aſtonied at her ſtrange ſpeeches, opened the ſame to the moſt reuerend father in god, William Warham, Archbiſhopp of Canterbury, who immediatly after the begininge of this buſines departed this lyfe. At length her name ſpredd ſo wide, that ſhe was much reſorted vnto of manie people, and for her vertuous and avſtere life was commonly called the holy maid of Kente. And ſhortly after, by the adviſe of the reuerend Doctor Borkinge, ſhe was profeſſed a Nunn in the Priorie of Saint Sepulcher, in Canterburie, where ſhe continewed duringe the time of her life in great pennance and puniſhment of her ſelf. And beinge there a Nunn profeſſed, ſhe after declared much of this matter to one *Maiſter* Henrie Gould, a learned man and batchelor in divinitye, and to father Hugh Rich, Warden of the Fryers obſervantes in Canterburie, and Richard Riſbe an other of the brothers of the ſame howſe: All which before mentioned perſons greatly ſett forth the name of the ſaid Elizabeth in their ſermons and preachings to the people, ſo that ſhe became famous almoſt throughout all the Realme. Then afterwards the forefaid Nunn, as well as ſome other of the religious men before named, came to this moſt reuerrend biſhopp of Rocheſter, and Doctor John Adeſon his Chaplin, [2]and lykewiſe to doctor Thomas Abell, ſomtimes the queenes Chaplin, makinge them privie to the wounderfull and ſtrange revelacions and ſpeeches of this Nunn; from thence ſhe went (by the counſell of Doctor Borking and the parſon of Adlington) to the Charterhowſe of London and Sheene, to the Nunnerye of Sion, and to the freere howſes of Ritchmount, Canterburie, and Greenwitch, declaring to them in lyke ſort as ſhe had done before to others, & laſtly to the kinge himſelfe, then lying at Hanworth, before whom kneelinge, ſhe opened all her minde as freely as ſhe was able to vtter it, deſiring him therfore in gods name, aſwell for *the* ſafetie of his owne ſoul, as for preſervacion of this moſt noble realme, to take good heed what he did, and to proceed no further in this buſines. The

[1] Fol. 67. [2] Fol. 67, back.

kinge all the while gave her quyett hearinge, feeminge to all men that were there *pre*ſent, not only content with the wordes, but alſo much diſmayde to heare them at the mowth of ſo ſimple a woman, and ſo diſmiſſed her peaceablie for *that* time to her howſe at Canterburie, where ſhe remained not longe quiet after. for now the kinge, perceivinge *that* his doings were openly knowne to the worlde, and finding withall that the greateſt part of his Realme lyked not therof (within ſhort time was lyke by ſuch means as this to bringe ſome inconvenience and daunger towar*des* him yf the ſame were not *pre*vented in convenient time) [1]he fell therfore in conſultac*ion* with his flatteringe Counſell what were beſt to doe in this matter, whom he founde devided amonge themſelves, ſome thinkinge good that it ſhould be handled with clemencie and pittie, and ſome, on the contrarie part, with all rigor and crueltie, for an example to others. But in the end it was reſolved that pittie ſhould be ſett a ſide, and ſeveritie take place, and ſo all was turned to this: That it was but only a trayterous conſpiracie between *the* Nunn and all the forenamed fathers and other *per*ſons to bringe the kinge and his government into a miſlykinge and hatred of the people of his realme, and to raiſe a grudge between him & them, wherby they might the better be incorraged to make a tumult and co*m*motion againſt him. Wherfore the kinge, havinge now gotten (as he thought) a good and ſufficient matter of treaſon againſt this good Biſhop (whom he ſpecially ſought and ſhott at before all others), becauſe he was privie to the cauſe amonge them; he ſent for his Iudges, and certaine other lawiers, and before them cauſed the Caſe to be proponed, déſiringe of them to knowe the lawe in that pointe, and how they might all be brought in the Caſe of high treaſon. The lawiers, ſitting long in conſultac*ion* of this matter, and yet knowing in manner the kings minde aforehand, fell at laſt to a reſolution, and concluded: That the ſaid Elizabeth Barton *the* Nunn, Edward Borkinge and John Deringe, monk*es*; Richarde [2]maiſter and Henrie Golde, preiſt*es*, Hugh Riche and Richard Riſbe, freers minors, were all by *the* law in Caſe of high treaſon. But my lord of Rocheſter, with Doctor Adeſon his Chaplen, and Doctor Abell, with certaine other perſons, becauſe they were not

[1] Fol. 68. [2] Fol. 68, back.

the firſt contryvers of the matter, but only heard it reported by them, and concealed it, were by the ſaid Iudges deemed to be in the Caſe of miſpriſon of treaſon: which is *the* loſſe of their goods, and impriſonment of their bodies duringe the kings pleaſure.

The Kinge not havinge herin his intended deſire, becauſe he rather ſhott at the life of this good man then his goods, was faine yet to content himſelfe therw*i*th for that time, and ſo ſhortly after the poore Nunne, with all other the religious perſons and preiſtes before mentioned, were attached and brought vp to Lambeth before the newe biſhop of Canterburie, doctor Cranmer, where by him and certaine other Co*m*miſſione*rs*' appointed for that purpoſe, they were verie ſtrictly examined and charged with all the terror that might be, How they moſt traiterouſly, with falſe fained hipocriſie and diſſembled ſanctity, had conſpired againſt the kinge in movinge & exciting diſpleaſure and grudge between him and his people, to the intent to raiſe a Co*m*motion in this Realme, to *the* [1]great daunger of his perſon, and ſubue*r*ſion of *the* whole realme, and ſo finally were all ſent to the Towre of London, where they lay longe after in much miſerie, till ſuch time as by ſharpe and cruell death they ended their daies, for in a Parleament holden at Weſtm*inſter* the xxv^th^ yere of the kings raigne, begininge (aft*er* diue*rs* prorogac*i*ons) the xv^th^ day of Januarie, they were all attainted of high treaſon, and in Aprill next followinge, the ſillie Nunn was hanged and headed at Tyborne, and the reſt were alſo the ſame daie hanged, and after quartered alive. And for aſmuch as my lord of Rocheſter, Doctor John Adeſon, his Chaplen, Doctor Thomas Abell, Thomas Lawrence, Regiſter to the Archdeacon of Canterburie, & Edward Thwaytes, gentleman, did not only know of the foreſaid offence, but alſo gave credence to the offendors, wherby the ſaid offendors tooke corrage in their doinge*s*, were all convicted of miſpriſon of treaſon, to ſuffer impr*i*ſonment during the kings pleaſure, and to forfeit vnto him all *thei*r goods, chattells, and debts. But yet for all this tirrible ſentence geven vpon this good biſhopp, nether was he impriſoned ne yet diſpoyled of his goodes for *that* time, although (as I heard after) he was faine to redeeme himſelf with payment of three hundred

[1] Fol. 69.

poundes for a fine, which was one whole yeres revennewe of the bifhoprick, for the king (as before is faid) ment not to fpoile his goods, which he knew to be but of fmall valew, but rather thirfted after his life, knowinge him to be (as he was indeed) a greate ftop & hinderer of all his licentious *proceedings*, for *that* he bare fo great a fway in *the* convocac*i*on howfe as he did.

[1] You have heard before how Cardinall Campegius departed out of this realme to the Popes Holyneffe, after fuch time as the queene had made her appeale to the Sea Apoftolicke, who, beinge long before this time arived at Rome, made there to the Popes Holyneffe a declaration of all his proceedings. Shortly after whofe departure, the kinge fent to the Pope Doctor Bonner and Doctor Keane, both Doctors of the Civill lawe and profound men, to treat with him of this matter as of them felves and not fent from him, who, according to their fecret com*m*iffion geven them, dealt verie largely in the kings behalf, fignifyinge vnto *the* Pope that all the Bifhopps and Clergie of England were fully agreed, and thought the maryage between the kinge and the queen to be vnlawfull from the beginninge, and that it was therfore verie neceffarie to make a feparation between them by a fentence definitive from his Holines. The Pope, perceivinge neuer*t*heles that they came without authoritie or Com*m*iffion, demaunded of them a certificat vnder the Bifhops hande, and feales of this they had faid. Then the kinge labored erneftly for this certificat, which by one meanes or other was at laft gotten out vnder all their handes and feales, favinge my lord of Rochefter, who by no meanes would euer agree to yt. At length the Certificat was fent to thefe counterfett Ambaffadors, who *pr*efented the fame [2] to the Pope. But when he perceaved this good bifhops hand and feale wantinge amonge the reft, and vnderftood alfo that it was gotten of the other bifhops rather by flaightie devifes and Compulfion then by any direct or orderlie meanes, the Inftrument was clean reiected, and reputed to noe purpofe.

Then the Pope (becaufe he confidered the cafe to be great and waightie) would in no wife proceed any further without great and fubftantiall advife, and for that purpofe called vnto him the moft

[1] Fol. 69, back. [2] Fol. 70.

worthie Divines and Canoniſtes that could be gotten. Then he conſulted with all the vniuerſities, that at that time were ether famous or willing to be talked with. Lykewiſe he procured the ſenſures of manie famous men, ſet forth in their feuerall writings, amonge which one was the booke of this moſt worthie and learned Biſhopp of Rochefter, wherof ſome mention is before made: which booke, by the opinion and iudgment of that reuerend and famous Clerke, Alphonſus de Caſtro, a ſpaniſh freer of the order of minors, is (as himſelf writeth) of all other the moſt excellent and learned worke. The Pope (I faie), after ſo longe and dilligent examinacion in this great matrimoniall cauſe, ſettinge in his Tribunall ſeat & open Conſiſtorie, with the aſſent and counſell of his moſt reuerend bretheren, the Cardinalls of the holy Church of Rome, pronounced a [1]ſentence definitive, approvinge therin the forefaid matrimonie to be good and lawfull. And becauſe this ſentence is perhaps vnknowne vnto many, and ſpecially of the countrey of England, that other have not heard, or rather will not willingly heare therof, I have thought good to inſert the ſame in this our Hyſtorie word for word as it was pronounced. Let vs then heare what the Pope himſelf ſaith.

Clemens papa ſeptimus.

Chriſti nomine invocato in throno iuſticiæ pro tribunali ſedentes et ſolũm deum præ oculis habentes per hanc noſtram definitivam ſententiam, quam de venerabilium fratrum noſtrorum Sanctã Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalium conſiſtorialiter coram nobis congregatorum conſilio et aſſenſu firmius in his ſcriptis pronuntiamus decernimus et declaramus, in cauſa et cauſis ad nos et ſedem apoſtolicam per appellacionem per chariſſimam in Chriſto filiam Catherinam Angliæ reginam illuſtrem a noſtris et ſedis apoſtolicæ legatis in regno Angliæ deputatis interpoſitam legitime deuolutis et aduocatis, inter prædictam Catherinam Reginam, et chariſſimum in Chriſto filium Henricum octavum Angliæ regem illuſtrem, ſuper validitate et invaliditate matrimonij inter eoſdem reges contracti et conſummati, rebuſque alijs in actis cauſæ et cauſarum hujuſmodi latius deductis et dilecto filio Paulo Capiſſucho cauſarum ſacri Pallatij tunc Decano, et [2]propter ipſius Pauli

[1] Fol. 70, back. [2] Fol. 71.

abſentiam, venerabili fratri noſtro Jacobo Simonetæ Epiſcopo Piſaurienſi vnius ex dicti pallatij auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendis, inſtruendis, et in Conſiſtorio noſtro referendis commiſſis, et per eos nobis et eiſdem Cardinalibus relatis et mature diſcuſſis, coram nobis pendentibus matrimonium inter prædictos Catherinam et Henricum Angliæ reges contractum, et inde ſequuta quæcunque fuiſſe validum et canonicum, validaque et canonica, ſuoſque debitos debuiſſe et debere fortiri effectus: Prolemque exinde ſuſceptam vel ſuſcipiendam fuiſſe et fore legitimam. Et prefatum Henricum Angliæ regem, teneri et obligatum fuiſſe et fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina Regina eius legitima coniuge, illamque maritali affectione et regis honore tractandum. Et eundem Henricum Angliæ regem ad premiſſa omnia et ſingula cum effectu adimplendum, condemnandum omnibuſque iuris remedijs cogendum et compellendum fore; Provt condemnamus cogimus et compellimus: moleſtationeſque et denegationes per eundem Henricum Regem eidem Catherinæ Reginæ ſuper invaliditate et fœdere dicti matrimonij quomodo libet factas, fuiſſe et eſſe illicitas et iniuſtas. Et eidem Henrico regi ſuper illas et validitatem matrimonij hujuſmodi perpetuum ſilentium imponendum fore, et imponimus Eundemque Henricum Angliæ regem in expenſis in hujuſmodi cauſa & parte dictæ Catherinæ Reginæ coram nobis et dictis omnibus legitime factis condemnandum fore, et condemnamus. Quarum expenſarum taxationem nobis in poſterum reſervamus. Ita pronuntiamus.

Lata fuit Romæ in Pallatio apoſtolico publice in Conſiſtorio die 23 Martij anno 1534.

[1] *Pope Clement the vij*[t] .

We invocatinge the name of Chriſt and ſittinge iuditioufly in throwne of iuſtice, havinge only before our eyes the glorie of Almightie God, by this our definitive ſentence, which by the Counſell and aſſent of our venerable Bretheren the Cardinalls of the holy Church of Rome aſſembled before vs in Conſiſtorie. We do in theſe wrytings geve, pronounce, decree, and declare in the cauſe and cauſes lawfully devolved and advocated to vs and the Sea apoſtolicke, by appellacion brought before vs by our welbeloved daughter in Chriſt, Catherin queene of England, from the Iudgmentes of the legates

[1] Fol. 71, back.

deputed and ſent from vs and the foreſaid Sea Apoſtolicke, between the foreſaid queene Catherin and our welbeloved Sonne in Chriſt, Henry the viijth, the noble king of England, vpon the validitie and invaliditie of *the* matrimony between them contracted and conſum-mated, and vpon other matters more largely deduced in the actes of ſuch lyke cauſe and cauſes, and committed to our ſonne Paulus Capiſuchus, then deane of the Cauſes of our holy pallace, and in his abſence to our reuerend brother James Simoneta, Biſhopp of Piſawria, ſupplyinge the place of one of the Auditors of our ſaid Pallace, to be heard inſtructed, and in our Conſiſtorie to be reported and ma-turely diſcuſſed, during the time of the matter [1]dependinge before vs; that the matrimonie contracted betweene the ſaid queen Cathe-rin and kinge Henrie of England, with all other conſequentes of the ſame, was and is of good force and canonicall; and that they may and ought to enioy to them their dewe effects, and that the yſſue betweene them heretofore borne or hereafter to be borne was & ſhall be legitimate: And that the foreſaid king Henrie hath, is, and ſhall be bound and obliged to cohabit & dwell with the ſaid queene Catherin, his lawfull wife, and to intreat her with huſbandly affec-tion and kingly honor. And that the ſaid kinge Henrie is con-demned, and by all remedies of lawe is to be reſtrayned and compelled, as we do condemne, conſtraine, and compell him to accompliſh & fulfill all and ſinguler the premiſſes effectually: And that *the* mo-leſtation and refuſalls by the foreſaid king Henry by any manner waies made to the ſaid queene Catherin towchinge the invaliditie of the ſaid matrimonie, are preſently & alwaies from the beginninge were vnlawfull and vniuſt: And that perpetuall ſilence concerninge all the fore ſaid matters and the invaliditie of the ſaid matrimony ſhall be enioyned vnto the ſaid Henrie. And we do enioyne yt. And that the ſaid kinge Henrie of England is to be condemned, and we do condemne him in the expenſes lawfully made before vs and our ſaid bretheren in ſuch caſe on the behalf of the ſaid queen Catherin: The taxation of which expenſes we reſerve to our ſelf till an other time.

So we have pronounced.

This was publiſhed in *the* pallace at Rome in the open Conſiſterie 23 martij Anno Domini 1534.

[1] Fol. 72.

[1]And thus after many troublefome daies of fuite with great expenfes of money, ftrange devifes, and wonderfull practifes, ended this matrimoniall Cafe by this notable fentence pronounced and publifhed by *the* head Iudge vpon earth, to whom Chrift gave the full power and authoritie of himfelf to binde and to loofe; with which fentence and full determinacion it is to be wifhed that *the* Kinge would have fubmitted himfelf to this greate authoritie: which yf he had done no doubt but then had this noble Realme ftill continewed in that auncient florifhinge ftate of vertue, devotion, and welth wherin he found yt. Then had he preferved his owne honor and good fame, which he afterward moft worthily loft. Then had he not opened fuch a gapp to fcifmes and hereſies as he did, to our vndoinge, and the manifeft perdition of his owne foul. Then had the whole ftate of *Chrift*endome ftand in much better fuertie then of longe time it hath and now of lykelyhood it doth. Then had he ftill abidden with this moft noble ladie, his lawfull wife. And then conſequently had he not proceeded to this horrible fecond maryage as he did, contrarie to the found advife of this our bleſſed father and of diuers others, wherof enſewed afwell the death of this holy byſhop, as of many other devout and reuerend Abbottes and Pryors, [2]religious men and prieſts, beſides a number of worthie perſons of the temporalitie; the lyke wherof it is to be thought, this Realme neuer had at one inſtant before his daies. But (alas) how farr was the kinge now chaunged from the man he was, then when by advife and helpe of this holy father he wrote his moft learned booke of the Aſſertion of the ſeaven Sacramentes againſt Luther, and what an alteration of obedience to the Sea Apoſtolicke was this in him, from *that* time in which he dedicated his ſaid booke to the Popes Holineſſe, with theſe wordes: "Itaque etiam hac fiducia rem tentavimus et qua in ea meditati fumus Sanctitati tua dedicauimus vt ſub tuo nomine (qui *Chriſ*ti vicem in terris geris) publicum iudicium ſubeant:" And ſo with this Confidence we have attempted this matter, and have dedicate to your Holyneſſe all our labour therin, to *the* intent *that* vnder your name (who vpon earth doth ſupplie the place of *Chri*ſt) the ſame may come to the publique iudgment of *the* worlde. Many other ſuch lyke places are

[1] Fol. 72, back. [2] Fol. 73.

to be found in *that* worthie booke, who foeuer ſhall well pervſe and read the ſame.

But let vs further conſider what moved this bleſſed man to ſtand in defence of this quarrell, and we ſhall ſoone perceive that he had great cauſe to do as he did, for although he thought in his Conſcience, and by his profound learninge moſt aſſuredly knewe, that the kinge for noe [1]cauſe yet alleadged, could by the law of god make any ſepa*ra*cion between him and his wife, this noble Princeſſe, yet had he a more ſecrett intelligence of the kings doings, & further intent therin then at *that* time was knowne to many others; I meane of his proceedinge to a ſecond marriage with *the* lady Ann Bullen, wherof although (for the great reu*e*rence he bore to the kings perſon) he ſpared to ſpeake openly that which he knew for trew, yet to ſome of his ſecret frendes (when it might ſerve to the purpoſe) he would not ſticke to vtter, that the kinge could not by anie meanes proceed to ſuch marryage without the ruine of his honor and good name, and the ineſtimable loſſe of his ſoul for eu*er*. No, although the Pope ſhoulde pronounce the firſt maryage to be void & adnihillat, and that for ſundrie cauſes; for firſt it was well knowne that even about ſuch time as the king began to caſt his carnall love to this ladie, Ann Bullen, the lord Henrie Perſie, ſonne and heire to *the* Erle of Northumberland, chanced alſo not longe before that time to fall in love with her; and therin at laſt proceeded ſo farre that they were aſſured before good witneſſes in the waie of maryage, he beinge then attendant vpon Cardinall Woolſey, and ſhe wayting in the Court vpon this good queene Catherin (nether of them yet knowing *the* kings intent); [2]but when knowledge therof came to the kings eares he waxed angrie, and was much moved againſt *the* lord Pearcie, inſomuch as he ſent in haſt for the Cardinall to come to him on a time to Bridewell, and there opened vnto him all his intent and purpoſe, willinge him in any wiſe with all the ſpeed that might be, to call before him the ſaid lorde Percie, and to infringe his aſſurance by all the meanes he could deviſe. The Cardinall ſeeinge all this matter come to this effect was not a litle vnquyeted therat. Howbeit returninge home to his howſe at Weſtminſter, and not for-

[1] Fol. 73, back. [2] Fol. 74.

gettinge the kings Co*m*maundement, he called the lord Percie before him, and there in p*re*ſence of diue*r*s of his ſervan*te*s demaunded of him with many ſharpe wordes what he had done, and how farr he had proceeded in this matter. The lord Percie perceavinge this his doinge to be ill taken, and verie lykely to turne to his diſpleaſure, anſwerred vpon his knee with feare; That they were aſſured before witneſſe. Then (ſaid the Cardinall) haſt thou done lyke a lewd boye, to attempt any ſuch thinge without the knowledge other of the kings Ma*ieſ*tie, thy father, or me, and therfore I co*m*maund thee that thou come no more in her companie vpon paine of the kings diſpleaſure & mine, for by this meane thou haſt gotten thee alreadie his ill will; And I will alſo ſignifie vnto thy father thy bould and raſhe attempt, wherby it is lyke thou ſhalt be diſinherited for ever. Then the lord Perſie in moſt lamentable and pittifull manner ſaid vnto the Cardinall (ſtill kneelinge), "I moſt humblie deſire yo*ur* grace*s* favo*ur* herin, and that you will ſtand ſo much my [1]good lord as to intreate the kings Ma*ieſ*tie for me, for truly I have now gone ſo farre in this matter, and that before many worthie witneſſes that I know not how to diſcharge my conſcience before god, nor yet excuſe my ſelf before men." "Whie" (ſaid the Cardinall) "doſt thou harpe ſtill vpon that ſtringe? I thought thou wouldeſt have ſhewed thy ſelf penitent for thy fooliſh doings, and here have promiſed to relinquiſh from henceforth any further attempt therin." "Truly" (ſaid the lord Pearcie), "ſo will I with all my hart as much as in me lyeth, my conſcience only reſerved for my former promiſſe." "Well" (ſaid the Cardinall), "I will ſignifie ſo much to the kinge," and ſo departed. And this was one cauſe that made this reue*r*end man to miſlyke of this ſecond marriage.

An other cauſe was for that there was a greate and conſtant fame how the king had before carnally knowne the ladie Anns mother, which in law forbiddeth all marriage of the children for ever after, becauſe otherwiſe it might be dowbt that the kinge ſhould marrye his owne daughter. And for ſome better probabillitie therof I have heard yt reported of diue*r*s perſons of good credit, that the Counteſſe of Wilſhire her mother (as ſhe happened on a time to talke with

[1] Fol. 74, back.

the kinge of this matter) ſodenly ſaid vnto him in the hearing of ſundrie perſons, half in ſport and halfe in earneſt, theſe wordes: "*Sir*, for *the* reuerence of god take heed what you doe in marying my daughter; for yf you record *your* conſcience well ſhe is *your* owne daughter as well as mine."

[1]Lykewiſe it was verie evident to many *that* were about the kinge, that he *com*monly knewe not only this ladie, Ann Bullen, before he marryed her, but alſo longe before that he knew in lyke manner the ladie Marie Carie, her ſiſter. And theſe were cauſes whie this good man thought *that* the king could not by any meanes lawfully proceed to this maryage; no, although his firſt marryage had bene void and adnihillat, or though this good queen had bene dead, and the kinge free to marrie.

Other cauſes there were though not of ſo great importance as theſe be, yet verie iuſt & probable why the kinge with his honor and ſafetie of his realme could not well proceed thervnto. For firſt there went a great rumour of her incontinencie and looſe lyvinge, & what inconveniences have growne in many *Chriſt*ian realmes by doubtful ſucceſſion of Baſtardie; there needeth here noe example to be rehearſed, beinge a caſe ſo well knowne to the worlde as it is; and of this it ſhould ſeeme there was a ſhrewd lykelyhood when *Sir* Thomas Wyatt (after he vnderſtood of the kings intended purpoſe to marrie with her) came to the kinge and declared vnto him the truth of that he knewe, doubtinge in deed *that* *the* ſame *com*ming els to his knowledge by ſome other meane might kindle diſpleaſure ſecretly in his breſt againſt him, and ſo at one time or other breake out to his confuſion.

Wherfore *com*minge (I ſaie) to *the* kinge he told him plainly [2]that ſhe was no fitt wife for his *maieſtie*, confeſſinge there almoſt in plaine wordes, with great feare, that himſelf had bene familier with her. Lykewiſe ſhe was greatly ſuſpected, and in manner notoriouſly knowne of diuers perſons to be an heretick, and therby verie lykely to corrupt the kinge, being ſo extreamely blinded with their vnlawfull doctrine as ſhe was, which after came to paſſe in deed: for ſhe was the firſt and only perſon that of a longe time durſt breake with him

[1] Fol. 75. [2] Fol. 75, back.

in ſuch matters. The effect and fruite wherof the world feeth, and this miſerable countrey more and more feeleth to our vndoinge.

Now approched the time wherin this bleſſed man grew to his finall and laſt trooble: for at the Parlement before mentioned, wherin he was attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon for the matter of the nunn of Canterburie, there was alſo in the ſame Parliament an other ſtatute made, declaringe the eſtabliſhment of the kings ſucceſſion in the imperiall Crowne of this realme; by vertue wherof it was enacted, that the ſaid mariage heretofore ſolemnized betweene the kinge and the ladie Catherin, beinge before his older brothers wife, and by him [1]carnally knowne (as the Acte reporteth) ſhould be by the authorite of that Parliament, definitively, cleerly, and abſolutely declared, deemed, and iudged to be againſt the laws of Almightie god: and alſo excepted, reputed, and taken of noe valewe or effect, but vtterlie void to all intentes and purpoſes, accordinge to ſentence made at Donſtable by Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterburie. And that the matrimonie had and ſolemniſed betweene the kinge and queene Ann ſhould be eſtabliſhed and taken for vndoubtfull, trew, ſincere, and perfect, accordinge to the iudgment of the ſaid Archbiſhopp. And that the yſſue comminge of that mariage ſhould be inheritable to the Crowne and gouernment of the Realme. By meane wherof the ladie Marie, being yſſue of his former marriage, was diſherited and diſabled to all intentes and purpoſes. And yf any perſon, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer he be, ſhall by wrytinge, printing, or any exterior Acte or deed procure or doe any thinge, to the preiudice, ſlaunder, diſturbance, or derogation of the ſaid matrimony, or the yſſue growing of the ſame, that euerie ſuch perſon ſhould be deemed and iudged as a high Traytor, and ſhould ſuffer ſuch paines and loſſes as in Caſe of high treaſon is provided. And further, yf any perſon ſhould, by word or ſpeech only, without wrytinge or doinge, vtter or publiſh any thinge in derogacion [2]of this matrimonie, that everie ſuch offence ſhould be taken and adiudged for miſpriſion of high treaſon, and the offenders to ſuffer impriſonment during the kings pleaſure, and to looſe to him all their goods, chattells, and debts. And that for offendinge in any of theſe treaſons or miſpriſions, no priveledge nor

[1] Fol. 76. [2] Fol. 76, back.

immunitie of Sanctuarie within this Realme ſhould ſerve. Certaine other things there be alſo contained within *the* ſame Acte, as by readinge of the ſame ſtatute may appeare more at large. But, laſtly, it is concluded that for the better and more ſure keepinge & obſerving of this Acte, aſwell the nobles of this realme, ſpirituall and temporall, as all other ſubiectes of *the* ſame, ſhall make a corporall oath, That they ſhall truly and conſtantly obſerve, defend, and keepe to the vttermoſt of their cunninge, will, and powre the whole effect and contentes of this Statute. The wordes of which oath (although they be not expreſſed at large in the Statute) were theſe: Ye ſhall ſweare to beare faith, truth, and obedience all only to the kings maieſtie, and to his heires of his bodie of his moſt deere and intirely beloved lawfull wife, queen Ann, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heires of our ſouereigne lord according to *the* limitacion [1]in the Statute, made for ſuertie of his ſucceſſion in the crowne of this Realme mentioned and contayned, and not to any other within this realme, noe forraine authoritie or Potentate. And in Caſe any oath be made or hath bene made by you to any perſon or perſons, that then ye to repute the ſame as vaine and annihilat, and that to *your* cunninge, witt, and vttermoſt of *your* power, without guile, fraud, or other vndew meanes, ye ſhall obſerve, keepe, maintaine, and defend the ſaid Acte of Succeſſion, and all the whole effects and contents therof, and all other Actes and Statutes made in confirmacion and for execucion of the ſame, or of any thinge therin contained: and this ye ſhall doe againſt all manner of perſons of what eſtate, dignitie, degree, or condicion ſoeuer they be: and in no wiſe do or attempt, nor to *your* powre ſuffer to be done or attempted directly, any thinge or thinges prively or apertly, to the lett, hinderance, daunger, or derogation therof or of any part of the ſame, by any manner of meanes, or for any manner of pretence, ſo helpe you God and all Saincts, And the holy Evangelifte.

This oath, although it was not in theſe wordes expreſſed in the Statute (as is before ſaid), and therby not of any ſuch force that any man was compellable by vertue of that lawe to take yt, yet it ſo pleaſed [2]the Kinge and his Counſellors of their owne authoritie to

[1] Fol. 77. [2] Fol. 77, back.

have it framed, and lykewife tendred to all fuch as were called before the Commiſſioners for that cauſe authoriſed: and in the end of that ſeſſion of parliament (which was the xxx^th^ of March) it was offred to all the lordes of the higher howſe, both ſpirituall and temporall, and lykewife to the Commons in the lower howſe; wherof moſt of both howſes accepted it with heavie hartes (only my lord of Rocheſter except), who openly refuſed to ſweare it. Neuertheles he was winked at for that time, and nothing ſaid to him. And ſo the Parliament beinge ended he departed home to his Pallace of Rocheſter where he had not remayned above the ſpace of four daies, but a letter came to him from the Archbiſhop of Canterburie and certaine other Commiſſioners, willinge him perſonally to appeare before them at Lambeth, in the ſaid Archbiſhops howſe, by a certaine daie expreſſed within that letter, all excuſes ſett apart. This letter beinge once knowne and heard of within his howſe, caſt ſuch a terror and feare amonge his ſervantes, and after amonge other his frendes in the countrey, that nothinge was there to be heard of [1]but lamentacion and mourninge on all ſides: Howbeit the holy man, nothinge at all diſmaid therat (as a thing *that* he daily and howrly looked for before), called all his familie before him, and willed them to be of good cheere, and to take noe care for him, ſayinge that he nothinge doubted but all this ſhould be to the glorie of God, and his owne quietneſſe. "And for that" (ſaid he), "I beinge once gone, you may doubte of the time of my returne hither to you againe, I have willed my Steward to conſider euerie of you with a portion of my goodes as far as they extend, deſiringe god to ſend both you and me his grace;" and ſo turninge his backe lefte them all weepinge, and went about other buſineſs. And callinge his officers to him to conſult for the diſpoſition of his goods, he firſt allotted to Michaell howſe in Cambrige (where he was brought vp at learninge) a hundred pounds, which was after paid to the howſe in goulde. An other portion he cauſed to be devided amonge his ſervantes, alowinge euery one of them a rate according to his place and worthines. Lykewife to poore people in Rocheſter he aſſigned an other ſome to be diſtributed. The reſt he reſerved for himſelf to defend his neceſſitie in

[1] Fol. 78.

priſon, where he accounted himſelf ſure as ſoone as he was come before the Commiſſioners, alwais reſervinge vnto the Colledge of Saint John in Cambrige ſuch percells of goods as he before had geven them, and borrowed againe of them by his wrytinge, though in deed his good meaninge in that point was neuer fulfilled, as after ſhall be declared. The next daie he ſett forward his iorney towards Lambeth, and paſſing through Rocheſter, there were by that time aſſembled a great number of people of [1]that Cittie and countrey aboute to ſee him departe, to whom he gave his bleſſinge on all ſides, as he ridde through the Cittie bare headed. There might you haue heard great waylinge and lamentinge: ſome cryinge *that* they ſhould neuer ſee him againe. Some others ſaid, woe worth they that are the cauſe of his trooble; others cryed out vpon the wickednes of the time to ſee ſuch ſight; euery one vtteringe his greefe to others as their mindes ſerved them. Thus paſſed he till he came to a place in the waie called Shooters hill, nigh twenty miles from Rocheſter, on the topp wherof he reſted himſelf, and deſſended from his horſe; and becauſe the howre of his refection was then come, which he obſerved at dew times, he cauſed to be ſett before him ſuch victualls as were thither broughte for him of purpoſe, and there dyned openly in the ayre, his ſervants ſtandinge round about him, and ſo came to London that night. And this preciſe order of dyett he vſed longe before, becauſe the Phiſitians thought, and he feared him ſelf to be entred into a conſumption. When the daie of his appearance was come, he preſented himſelf before the byſhopp of Canterburie, the lorde Awdeley, Chauncellor of England, and Maiſter Thomas Cromwell, the kings ſecretarie, and certaine other commiſſioners authoriſed vnder the great ſeale to tender the oath to him and others, they ſittinge then at Lambeth, where he found at the ſame time Sir Thomas Moore and [2]Maiſter Doctor Wilſon, ſomtimes the kings Confeſſor, who both had refuſed the oath a litle before his cominge, and thervpon Sir Thomas Moore being committed to the cuſtodie of the Abbot of Weſtminſter, Doctor Wilſon was forthwith ſent to the towre of London. Againſt the ſame daie all the Clergie of London were alſo warned to come thither about the ſame purpoſe, wherof fewe or none refuſed the

[1] Fol. 78, back. [2] Fol. 79.

oath for that time. Then was he called into the Chamber before them, and there my lord of Canterburie put him in remembrance of the late Act of Parliament, wherin is provided an oath to be miniſtred to all the kinges maieſties ſubiects for the ſuertie of his ſucceſſion in the crowne of this realme, "which oath" (ſaid he), "all the lordes, both ſpirituall and temporall, haue willingly taken, only your lordſhip except. And therfore his maieſtie holdeth himſelf greatly diſcontent with you, and hath by his Commiſſion appointed vs to call you before vs, and to offer you the oath once againe, which we have here preſent;" and therwith laying the oath before him, demaunded of him what he ſaid to yt. Then ſaid my lord of Rocheſter, "I praie you let me ſee the oath, and conſider a litle vpon it." Then the Commiſſioners, conſultinge a litle amonge them ſelves, graunted him ſpace for foure or five daies, and ſo he departed againe to his owne howſe in Lambeth Marſh where he lodged.

[1]Duringe the time of his lyinge there many of his frendes came to viſitt him, and as it were to take their leaves of him, thinkinge to ſee him no more after that day: amonge which the maiſters and fellowes of Saint Johns College in Cambrige, not forgettinge their great benefitt receaved at his handes, ſent vp two of their companie, called Maiſter Seton and Maiſter Brandſbe, partly to ſalute and viſitt him in the name of the whole howſe, and partly to deſire of him the confirmacion of their Statutes vnder his ſeale, which himſelf longe before had made and drawne in writing, but yet never confirmed. And therefore doubting much the time of his impriſonment to be verie neare at hand, their humble ſuite was that it would pleaſe him to alowe the ſame ſtatutes vnder his ſeale before he went to priſon: but to that he anſwered that he would firſt reade and conſider of them once more, and then (if he lyked them) he would fulfill their requeſt. "Alas" (ſaid they), "we feare the time is now ſo ſhort for you to read them before you goe to priſon." "Then," ſaid he, "I will read them in priſon." "Naie" (ſaid they), "that we thinke will hardlie be brought to paſſe." "Then" (ſaid he), "let gods will be done, for I will neuer alowe vnder my ſeale that thinge [2]which I haue not well and ſubſtantially veiwed and conſidered:" wherfore

[1] Fol. 79, back. [2] Fol. 80.

theſe two fellowes departed without their purpoſe. But ſhortly after, when this good father was in priſon, and things began to alter and change, the byſhop of Canterburie and Maiſter Cromwell, the kings Secretarie, with certaine others, by vertue of a commiſſion from the kinge, made a new booke of Statutes, and ſent them downe vnder their authoritie to the Colledge: which new ſtatutes beinge receaved, then were the ould then made by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, pronounced void and of none effect, and therfore the bookes to be laid awaie, and diſpoſed at their pleaſure. At the ſame time was Preſedent in that howſe one Maiſter George Cowper, a Bacheler in divinitie, and a right well learned and reuerend man. This Maiſter Cowper, havinge one of the ould Statute bookes remayning in his cuſtodie (as by vertue of his office belonged vnto him), was loath to deface or caſt it awaie for his ſake that made them, but ſtudyinge with himſelf what were beſt to be done with the booke, agreed at the laſt to geve the ſame to ſome bodie to be kept for a remembrance of that holy man, and ſo vpon ſome ſpeciall fancie (as it ſeemed) gave them to a yonge fellow of that howſe ſtanding by called Thomas Watſon, ſaying to him, "hould, take this booke of my guifte, and keep it well, for the time may [1]come that thou ſhalt live and reſtore it to the howſe, and ſo bring the ſtatutes into their force againe." And in deed (as this good man ſaid) it came after to paſſe, for that yonge man proſpered in his ſtudies ſo ſingulerly well, that he came to great honour, eſtimacion, & credit, and beinge many yeres after elected Maiſter of that howſe, reſtored againe thoſe good Statutes, which ſtoode in force till wickednes againe gott the vpper hande. But ſince that, for his ſpeciall merittes, he beinge moſt worthily promoted to the Biſhoprick of Lincoln, is for his great and profound learninge accounted a rare man in his time.

The day beinge at laſt come when this bleſſed man ſhould geue anſwere before the Commiſſioners, whether he would accept the Oath or not, he preſented himſelf againe vnto them, ſayinge, "That he had pervſed the ſame oath with as good deliberacion as he could, but that it being framed in ſuch ſort as it is, by no meanes he could accept yt with ſafetie of his Conſcience. Neuertheles" (ſaid he),

[1] Fol. 80, back.

"to fatiffie the kings ma*ieſ*ties will and pleafure, I can be content to fweare to fome part therof, fo that my felf may frame yt with other conditions, and in other fort then it now ſtandeth; and fo both mine owne confcience fhall be the better fatiffyed, and his ma*ieſ*ties doings the better iuftified and warranted by lawe."

[1]But to that they anfwered that the kinge would by no means lyke of exceptions or Conditions; "and therfore," faid my lord of Canterburie, "you muſt anfwere directlie to our queſtion, whether you will fweare the oath or noe." Then faid my lord of Rochefter, "yf you will needs haue me to anfwere directly, my anfwere is, That forafmuch as mine owne confcience cannot be fatiffied, I do abfolutly refufe the oath:" vpon which anfwere he was fent ſtraightway to the Towre of London, where he remained verie clofe locked and fhutt vp in a ſtronge prifon, without the companie of any perfon more then one fervant to helpe him in his neceffitie, becauſe he was aged; and this was done on tuefdaie the xxjth of Aprill, in the yere of our lord god 1534, and the xxvth yeare of the Kings Raigne, being the laſt daie of his raigne for that yere.

After he had lyen in prifon fix mounths and more, the Parliament began againe at Weſtm*inſter* vpon p*ro*rogac*i*on in the xxvjth yere of the kings raigne, the third daie of November. This Parliament, although it were but fhort (for yt continued but five and fortie daies), yet were the matters within it both great and waightie. Amonge which one Act was made for ratifyinge the Oathe made in the laſt Parliament towching *the* Succeſſion, for the refufinge wherof this good bifhop was com*m*itted to prifon (as ye have heard before): for ye fhall [2]vnderſtand, that although this oath was miniſtred to diu*e*rs perfons (wherof the moſt accepted it for feare), and fome refufed it that were forthw*i*th imprifoned, yet was not the fame eu*er* warranted by lawe, nether yet any man compellable by that law to take yt before the makinge of the ſecond Acte. And therfore feeinge it fo fell out that this good father was by their owne lawes wrongfully imprifoned for refufing this oath, yt was now ordered that his wrongfull imprifonment was to be iudged and accounted rightfull from the begininge by this Acte of Parliament.

[1] Fol. 81. [2] Fol. 81, back.

Then was there an other Statute made in the ſame Parliament wherby the kings heires and Succeſſors, contrarie to his former promiſſe ſolemlie made to the Convocation in the word of a kinge, ſhould be taken, accepted, and reputed (for ſo be the verie termes of *the* Statute) the one ſupreame head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Eccleſia, to have and inioy the ſame as a title & ſtile to his emperiall Crowne, with all honou*rs*, iuriſdicc*i*ons, authorities, and privileges to the ſame belonginge, and ſhould have full power and authoritie as himſelf lifteth: to viſitt, repreſſe, redreſſe, reforme, order, [1]correct, reſtore, and amend all hereſies, abuſes, erro*urs*, and offences whatſoeu*er* they were, as fully and amply as the ſame might or ought to be done, or corrected by any ſpirituall authoritie or iuriſdicc*i*on. And wheras the Convocac*i*on gave him this tytle in the xxijth yere of his raigne, with much adoe (as ye haue readd before), and yet not ſimply, but with theſe conditionall words, quantu*m* per legem dei licet; now were theſe wordes forgotten, and all was taken by this Acte as of the laie people, without any condic*i*on at all; or mention of theſe wordes, even as this holy man forefawe, and had given warninge aforehand. And that it might the more eaſily be wrought, the kinge kept this good Biſhop faſt in priſon all the Parliament time, leſte he, being amonge the lordes in the higher howſe, might (as he had done before) hinder the matter, which doubtles to the vttermoſt of his powre he would have done in deed, not only in this Acte, but alſo in ſundrie other actes, both in this Parliament and in other Parliamente*s* after, wherin the Church of England was vtterlie ruined, ſpoyled, and quyte overthrowne. In the ſame Parlement it was further enacted, that if any m*a*nne*r* of perſon ſhould, by word or deed, malicioufly p*re*ſume to denie the title of Supremacie, that then eue*ry* ſuch perſon ſhould be reputed and taken as an high traytou*r*, and to ſuffer and abide ſuch loſſes & paines [2]as in cafes of high treaſon is provided. And here I cannot omitt to declare vnto you what a buſineſſe was in the Parliament howſe when this Acte was made: for there were many that thought the Lawe verie hard and rigorous, to condemne a man of high treaſon for ſayinge the kinge is not ſupreame head of the

[1] Fol. 82. [2] Fol. 82, back.

Church: for ſome time a man might ſaie it negligently and vnawares, and ſomtimes in ſporte by way of talke; and therfore except dewe proof could be made, that the wordes were ſpoken malicioufly, the common howſe was verie loath to paſſe the Acte at all. This was debated amongſt them for many daies, ſo that at laſt this word (malicioufly) was expreſſed in the Acte, though afterward it ſerved to noe purpoſe at all.

Duringe the time that this bleſſed man lay thus clofely imprifoned, the kinge ſent to him divers of his counſell, and ſomtimes certaine of the Biſhops, and ſomtimes other lay men, that were learned, to perſwade with him to take the Oath of Succeſſion, but all in vaine, for ſuch was his intire conſtancie, that nether paine of his imprifonment—which to a weake and ould man could not be ſmall—nor yet the faire flatteringe wordes, which they that were ſent [1]from the kinge, with no ſmall ſhewe of eloquence vſed towards him, could at all move him to take ſuch oath againſt his conſcience: no, although he might wynne therby (as him ſelf ſaid) the whole worlde. Now was it ſo that even about the verie ſame time, or verie ſoone after that he was thus committed to the Tower, the moſt famous and worthie man, Sir Thomas Moore, his companion and fellowe in trooble, was alſo committed to the ſame place for lyke refuſall of *that* Oath. This worthie man, as he was for his ſinguler witt farr ſurpaſſinge any that euer yet hath bene heard or read of in this Realme, and rarely elſewhere, ſo for learninge it was verie hard to finde a Laie man of *that* time his lyke. When worde was brought to my lord of Rocheſter by his man, that Sir Thomas Moore was brought thither priſoner, he began ſtraight waie to conceive a certaine Ioye, being gladd, no doubt, of ſo good & faithfull companye as he therby hoped, in having now ſuch a worthie companion in this great and worthie cauſe; wherfore, as ſoone as he had opportunitie, he ſent him his lovinge and hartie Commendacion, receivinge from him the lyke againe. And after that, being in time ſome what releaſed of that cloſe and hard imprifonment that at the firſt they ſuffred, they would now and then ſalute one an other ſecretly by their mutuall letters, which continewed for a time, to both their

[1] Fol. 83.

exceedinge comfortes: Till [1]at length, God takinge pittie vpon their innocent foules, in thefe longe and troublefome afflictions of their bodies, was pleafed to accept their good harts and wills, that fo zealoufly fought and labored to be with him; for he permitted one letter at laft to be taken, which my lord of Rochefter had written to Sir Thomas Moore, and fent by his owne fervant, which letter, being brought to the Leiutenant, he forthwith fent it to the Kings Counfell, by whom it was opened and reade, contayninge his harty requeft made to Sir Thomas Moore, to know what he had faid before the Counfell at a certaine time (when he was called before them within the Towre), towchinge the divorce, and receaving the oath limited in the new acte of Parliament; and in the fame letter he alfo declared what anfwere himfelf had made before them, being hardly vrged in the fame matters a daie or two before. This letter being thus knowne to the kinge and the Counfell, was greevoufly taken by them all, conceivinge therby ftraight waie, that much conference had bene betweene them longe together. Wherfore they were more ftraightly imprifoned then euer they had bene before. Then was my lord of Rochefters man (that was meffenger betweene them) verie clofely fhutt vp alfo, and tirribly threatened to be hanged, in cafe he did not confeffe the truth in all fuch queftions as fhould be demaunded of him, amonge which one queftion was: how many [2]letters he had from time to time carried betweene his maifter and Sir Thomas Moore, who, fearing much his life, and beinge but a fimple fellowe, confeffed that he had carried about fixteen or feventeen letters, but of the contentes therof he knewe nothinge, becaufe they were fealed. Howbeit, fome of them were written with inke, and fome with cole. When this matter came to the knowledge of the two prifoners, noe marvaile though they thought them felves greeved, and were verie forie for their poore man, whose Cafe they more lamented then their owne: for towching that matter they had in hand, they were both fully agreed, though thefe letters had neuer bene, as after by their doinges it appeared further to the worlde. But at their araignment thefe lettres were hainoufly laid to both their charges, and taken as a confpiracie betweene them, wherby the one

[1] Fol. 83, back. [2] Fol. 84.

comforted the other in their wilfull obftinacie, becaufe their anfwers were alwaies alyke. When after diuers meanes vfed, the kinge faw that no waie would ferve, he fent on a daie to this conftant byfhopp the lord Chauncellour Awdley, the Duke of Suffolk, the Erle of Wilfhire, Maifter Secretarie Crumwell, and certaine others of his privie Councell, to fignifie vnto him the new lawe that was lately made fince his imprifonment for the kings fupremacie, contayninge within it the paine of highe treafon to all fuch as [1]fhould directly gainfaie, or by any manner waies withftand the fame: "wherfore" (faid they) "we are now come vnto you in his maiefties name, to vnderftand whether you are content to acknowledge and confeffe the fame, as other lordes fpirituall and temporall, and the commons in the name of the whole realme have done, or noe?" This matter, as it was both great and waightie, fo it began to towch him as neere as his fhirte; for vpon anfwere of this Cafe he knewe right well his life refted, for he confidered deepely with himfelf, both by that which he had before read in the Statute, and alfo the report which he had heard of others, that yf by plaine and expreffe wordes he fhould fay the king was not fupreme head of the Church of England, then were he in daunger of his life, becaufe it was plaine treafon by the new ftatute. And knowinge againe by his learninge, that notwithftandinge this lawe, the kinge nether was, nor by any right (the law of god repugninge) could iuftly be fupreame, he was perfwaded that to confeffe that openly in his mowth which his confcience taught him to be cleane falfe and vntrewe, were nothinge els but manifeftly to incurre the difpleafure of god, and indaunger his foul: wherfore, being in great perplexitie with himfelf what anfwere he might make for the prefervacion of his life in this worlde, and his foul [2]in the other world to come; at laft, for faving of them both together, he made this wife and grave anfwere:

"My lords, you haue here demaunded of me a queftion foe dowbtfull to anfwere, that I wott not almoft what to faie to yt with mine owne fafetie, and therfore this new Acte feemeth to me much lyke a two-edged fworde; for yf I anfwere you directly, with denyall of the kings Supremacie, then am I fure of death; and yf,

[1] Fol. 84, back. [2] Fol. 85.

on the contrarie part, I acknowledge the fame contrarie to my owne confcience, then am I fure of the loſſe of my foule; wherfore (as neare as I can to avoid both daungers) I fhall defire your Lordfhipps to beare with my ſilence, for I am not minded to make anie direct anſwer to it at all."

The lordes, and others of the kings Councell, hearinge his anſwer, were nothinge fatiſfied nor contented therewith, wherfore they began to vrge him yet a litle nearer, and the lord Chauncellour (in the name of the reſt) faid vnto him: That it were good he did a litle better conſider of this matter; "for theſe kind of wordes" (faid he) "will by no meanes lyke the kings maieſtie." And then he repeated vnto him how the kings grace was informed of the mutuall conference that had paſſed betweene him and Sir Thomas Moore by fundrie letters, which he tooke in verie ill parte; "and therfore" (faid he), "yf you fhall now ſtand in this manner againſt him, you fhall more exaſperat his greevous [1]indignation and diſpleaſure, and geve him good cauſe to thinke that you deale more ſtubbornly with him then ſtandeth with the dutie of a good ſubiecte."

To that my lord of Rocheſter anſwered, that towching that which had paſſed between him and Sir Thomas Moore, he wiſhed now with all his hart that they were all there readie to be ſhewed, affirminge vpon his word and promiſſe, that the effect of the moſt of them was no other thinge then frendlie ſalutacion. "And further" (ſaid he), "knowinge that Sir Thomas Moore was fundrie times ſince his impriſonmente called before your lordfhipps and others, as I was, to anſwer to ſuch queſtions as there were proponed vnto him, towchinge the new ſtatute, I was deſirous to knowe his anſweres, becauſe of the greate opinion I haue in his profound learninge and ſinguler witt. And, lyke as I was deſirous to know his anſwere, ſo I aduertiſed him of mine. And where it is thought that the kings maieſtie will be much diſpleaſed with me with this kind of doubtfull anſwere; truly no man ſhall be more ſorie for it then I. But where the caſe ſo ſtandeth, as by mine open and plaine anſwere with ſatiſfyinge his maieſties pleaſure, I cannot eſcape the diſpleaſure of Almightie god, I thinke it the more tollerable on my part yf I vſe ſilence, and do truſt that his grace will ſo accept it."

[1] Fol. 85, back.

[1]Then ſaid *Maiſter* Cromwell: "wherby thinke you (more then other men have done) that in ſatiffyinge the kinge*s* Ma*ieſ*tie herein, you ſhould diſpleaſe god?" "Becauſe" (ſaid he) "I know how mine owne conſcience ſtandeth, and ſo do I not an other mans." "Yf yo*ur* Conſcience be ſo ſetled" (ſaid my lord Chancello*ur*), "I doubt not but you can render ſome good cauſe therof, and that ye can be content to open the ſame to vs." "In deed" (ſaid he), "I thinke I am able to render you a good ſufficient cauſe whie my conſcience ſo ſtandeth, and could alſo be content to declare you the ſame, might I do yt with mine owne ſafetie, and without offence to the kinge*s* ma*ieſ*tie and his lawes." whervnto no man anſwered any more for that time, but, callinge for the Leiuetennant, he was deliue*r*ed againe vnto him againe with a verie ſtraite charge, *that* no further co*n*ference or meſſage ſhould paſſe betwee*n* him and *Sir* Tho*mas* More, or any other. And ſo they went to the kinge, & made report of all that was done: after the which time the leivetenant (accordinge to his great charge) looked more narrowly to them both then before he had don*ne*, ſo that noe knowledge paſſed between them more then by gods holy ſpiritt, which vndowbtedly directed them both in all their ſayings and doings: for in all their examinac*i*ons after their anſweres were eue*r* agreeable.

Thus were thoſe two notable and worthy perſons from day to daie labored and wrought by the kings Councell [2]ſundrie waies to confeſſe and acknowledge this new Act of Succeſſion, and to receive the oath for obſervinge the ſame; But for all that could be done, nether of them would be eue*r* brought ſo farre, wherfore ſeeinge that none of theſe meanes would ſerue, the Councell vſed a new craftie and ſubtill deviſe to deceive them both (yf yt might have bene), by gevinge out falſe rumors of the one to the other; for at a ſolemne daie appointed, when my lord of Rocheſter was called before them, and there ſore vrged to take the oath, they threatned emeſtly vpon him that he refted himſelf altogether vpon *Sir* Thomas Moore, and *that* by his perſwaſion he ſtoode ſo ſtiffie in the matter as he did; and therefore to drive him from that howlde, they tould him plainly, and put him out of dowbt, that *Sir* Thomas Moore had receaved the

[1] Fol. 86. [2] Fol. 86, back.

oath; and ſhoulde therfore finde the kinge his good lord, and be verie ſhortly reſtored to his full libertie with his Graces favour, which did at the firſt caſt this good father into ſome perplexitie and ſorrowe for Sir Moores ſake, whom for his manifould divine guiftes he tendered and highly reverenced, thinkinge it had bene trewe in deed, becauſe he miſtruſted not the falſe traines of the Councellours. But yet could not all this move him to take the oath.

Lykewiſe when Sir Thomas Moore was [1]called before them, they would perſwade with him as they did before with my lord of Rochefter, makinge him beleeue that he would never have ſtood thus longe, but for my lord of Rochefter, and then in the end tould him that he was content to accept the oath, which Sir Thomas Moore ſuſpected greatly to haue been trewe, and yet not altogether trewe; for that it was ſo geven out by the lordes (of whoſe ſlaights he was not ignorant), but becauſe it was a common talke amonge diuers others as he vnderſtood by the report of maiſtriſs Margaret Roper, his daughter, who vpon ſpeciall ſuite had free acceſſe to her father for the moſt time of his impriſonment. She had thus reported vnto him vpon occaſion of talke once with my lord Chauncellour, who on a time as ſhe was ſutor to him for her fathers increaſe of libertie, anſwered her, that her father was a great deal too obſtinate & ſelf willed, ſaying that there were no more in the Realme that ſticked in this matter but he and a blind biſhopp (meaninge my lord of Rochefter), "who is now content" (ſaid he) "with much adooe to accept the oath, and ſo I wiſh your father to doe, for otherwiſe I can do him no good." And the lyke anſwere my lord Chauncellor made alſo to the ladie Ales Alington, the wife of Sir Giles Alington, and daughter of Sir Thomas Moores laſt wife; when ſhe at an other time before was ſutor for her father-in-law, Sir Thomas Moore, in the ſame caſe.

[2]The kinge ſeeinge himſelf by all this neuer the nearer to his purpoſe, began then to ſeeke daily new inventions, either to bringe him to confeſſe his ſupremacie accordinge to this new Acte, or els for denyinge the ſame to intrapp him into ſuch daunger as is provided in the ſaid Acte. Then came to him at ſeuerall times

[1] Fol. 87. [2] Fol. 87, back.

byſhopp Stokeſly of London, biſhopp Stephen Gardiner of Winchefter, biſhopp Tunſtall of Durham, with certaine other biſhops to perſwade him to yelde to the kings demand. And yet no doubte but moſt of them did this againſt their ſtomacks, and rather for feare of the kings diſpleaſure (in whom they knew there was no mercie) then for any truth they thought in the matter; for I have credibly heard ſaie that Biſhopp Stokeſly all his lyfe after, when he had occaſion to ſpeake of this buſineſſe, would erneſtly weepe and ſaie: "Oh, that I had holden ſtill with my brother Fyſher and not lefte him when time was:" And for the Biſhopp of Winchefter, my ſelf have diuers times heard him, ſomtime in the pulpitt openly, and ſomtime in talke at dinner amonge the lordes of the Councell, and ſometime in other places verie erneſtly accuſe himſelf of his behaviour and [1]doings at that time: I have alſo heard the right reuerrend & learned father Doctor Thomas Harding, ſometime his Chaplen and ghoſtly father, ſaie that oftentimes in much of his ſeacrett talke amonge his Chaplins he would ſo bitterly accuſe himſelf of his doings, in that and ſuch like buſinefs of thoſe daies, that at laſt the teares would fall from his eyes abundantly, and finallie in the daies of kinge Edward the ſixt, being convented before the kings Commiſſioners, and there greatly vrged to proceed yet further, accordinge to the fruites of that time; he not only retracted before them all his former doings, but alſo ſuffred himſelf to be deprived of his great dignitie, and liuinge with ſharpe impriſonment within the towre of London the ſpace of five yeres and more, mindinge there to haue recouered the thinge which he before had loſt; I meane the bleſſed ſtate of martyrdome, yf god had bene ſo pleaſed; or els in place therof to continew a godlie confeſſor, remayninge a perpetuall priſoner all his daies, for a iuſt and trewe deſerved pennaunce of his offence. Howbeit it ſhortly after fell out otherwiſe, in the Raigne of this moſt noble and vertuous Queen Marie; for after god had once placed her in the gouernment and crowne of this realme, ſhe not only reſtored the auncient & Catholic religion throughout the ſame realme, but alſo deliuered him out of priſon with the biſhopp of Durham, before named, and diuers others, who laie there in lyke ſorte and almoſt the lyke ſpace that the biſhop of winchefter did.

[1] Fol. 88.

[1]Thefe Bifhopps (I faie) perfwaded thus continewally with this holy man, fomtimes one & fomtimes an other, but all in vaine; for by no meanes would he be wonne to fwarue one Iote from that which by his learninge he knewe to be iuft and trewe.

At an other time came to him by *the* kings com*m*aundment, fix or feaven bifhopps at once, to treat with him in lyke fort as the others had done feue*r*ally before. And when they had declared their intent and caufe of their com*m*inge, he made anfwere again in thefe, or lyke wordes,—"My Lords, it is no fmall greefe to me that occafion is geven to deale in fuch matters as thefe be, but it greeveth me much more to fee and heare fuch men as you be perfwade with me therin feeinge it concerneth you in your feueral[2] charge, as deeply as it doth me in mine, and therfore me thinketh it had bene rather our partes to fticke together in repreffinge thefe violent and vnlawfull intrufions and iniuries dayly offred to our com*m*on mother, the holy Church of Chrift, then by any manner of perfwafions to helpe or fett forward the fame. And we ought rather to feeke by all meanes the tempo*r*all diftrucc*i*on of the fo [3]ravenous woolves, that daily goe about wyrryinge and devowringe eue*r*laftinglie, the flocke *that* Chrift com*m*itted to our Charge, and the flocke that himfelf dyed for, then to fuffer them thus to range abroade. But (alas) feeing we do it not, ye fee in what perrill the *Chrift*en State nowe ftandeth: We are befeeged on all fides, and can hardly efcape the daun̄ger of our enemie: And feeinge *that* iudgment is begone at the howfe of god, what hope is there lefte (if we fall) that the reft fhall ftande! The fort is betrayed even of them that fhould have defended it. And therfore feeinge the matter is thus begunne, and fo faintly refifted on our parts, I feare we be not the men that fhall fee the ende of the miferie. wherfore feeing I am an ould man and looke not longe to live, I minde not by the helpe of god to trooble my confcience in pleafing the king this waie whatfoeue*r* become of me, but rather here to fpend out the remnant of my old daies in prayinge to god for him." And fo their communicac*i*on beinge ended, the byfhops departed, fome of them with heavie harts, and after *that* daie came no more to

[1] Fol. 88, back.
[2] "feueral" underlined and "in your feueral" written in margin.
[3] Fol. 89.

him. But within a litle ſpace after theſe biſhops were thus gone, his owne man *that* kept him in the priſon beinge but a ſimple fellowe, and hearing all this talk, fell in hand with him about this matter and ſaid: "Alas (my Lorde), [1] why ſhould you ſticke with the kinge more then the reſt of the byſhops haue done, who be right well learned and godly men, doubt you not he requireth noe more of you, but only to ſaie he is head of the Church, and me thinketh *that* is no great matter, for *your* lordſhipps may ſtill thinke as you liſt." The byſhopp perceivinge his ſimplicitie and knowinge he ſpake of good will and love towards him, ſaid vnto him againe in the waie of talke: "Tuſh, tuſh, thou art but a foole, and knoweſt litle what this matter meaneth, but hereafter thou maiſt knowe more. But I tell thee it is not for the Sup*re*macie only that I am thus toſſed and troobled, but alſo for an oath" (meaninge the oath of the king's ſucceſſion) "which yf I would have ſworne, I doubt whether I ſhould eu*er* haue bene queſtioned for the Sup*re*macie or noe; but god being my good lord I will never agree to any of them both. And this thou maiſt ſaie another daie thou heardeſt me ſpeake when I am dead and gone out of this worlde."

The Kinge beinge ſtill deſirous to take all the vantage againſt this good father, that might be found by vertue of his new lawe, and yet by all that he had hitherto ſpoken or done, not able to take ynough [2] for his purpoſe, began now a new waie how to intrap him by pollicie, which although it were verie vncharitable, and not ſtandinge with a Princes Ma*ieſ*tie, yet ſuch was the king's malice againſt this holy man, that ſo, he might compaſſe his purpoſe, he reſpected nether right nor wronge, truth nor falſhood, honor nor ſhame. The manner of this new invented pollicie was this. About the begininge of Maie after this bleſſed father had bene p*ri*ſoner ſomwhat more then a yeare the kinge ſent vnto him one M*aiſter* Richard Rich, being then his gene*r*all Solicitor, and a man in great truſt about him, with a ſecrett meſſage to be imparted vnto him in his ma*ieſ*ties behalf: which meſſage though it were in deed for *the* time verie ſecrett, yet fell it out at laſt to be openly knowne to the worlde, both to the kings great diſhonor and perpetuall infamie of the wicked and traiterous

[1] Fol. 89, back. [2] Fol. 90.

meſſenger as after ſhall appeare, neuertheles this meſſenger beinge come to the preſence of this bleſſed father in his priſon, did there his arraut (as it ſeemed) accordinge to the kings commaundment, for it was not longe after his returne to the kinge with anſwere of his meſſage, but an indictment of highe treaſon was framed againſt him, and he arraigned & condemned at the barr vpon the talke that had paſſed betweene them ſo ſecretlie, as after ſhall be declared vnto you.

[1]It fell out in the meane time that Pope Paul the third of bleſſed memorie, hearing much of the great conſtancie of this bleſſed man, as well before his imprifonment, as now in all the time of his hard reſtraint, was diſpoſed to advaunce him to a higher dignitie and place accordinge to his great worthines and deſert, thinkinge that by reaſon of this kinde of advauncment the kinge would have ſhewed him more clemencie, and lefte of further working him trooble and daunger, for his great dignities ſake. And ſo at a ſolemne creation of Cardinalls had at Rome in the firſt yere of his Conſecration, amonge diuers other worthie and famous Cardinalls, this good biſhopp was alſo created a Cardinall the xxj[th] daie of Maie, in the yere of our Lord god, 1535, intituled Sanctæ eccleſiæ Tituli Sancti vitalis preſbiter Cardinalis, whervpon ſhortly after the Cardinalls hatt was ſent towardes him, but when it came to Callis it was there ſtaid till ſuch time as the kinge was aduertiſed therof, and his pleaſure knowne, who (as ſoone as he heard of yt) [2]ſent ſpeedily in great anger to the Lord Deputie, commaunding him in any wiſe to ſuffer it to come no nearer till his further pleaſure knowne, and immediatly after ſent Maiſter Thomas Crumwell, his Secretarie, to this good father in his priſon to aduertiſe him what was done, only to the intent to know what he would ſaie to yt. Maiſter Crumwell being come into his Chamber, and entring into talke with him of many matters, aſked at laſt, "My lord of Rocheſter" (ſaid he), "yf the Pope ſhould now ſend you a Cardinalls hatt, what would you doe, would you take yt?" "Sir" (ſaid he), "I know my ſelf farr vnworthie of any ſuch dignitie, that I thinke nothinge leſſe then ſuch matters: but yf he doe ſend it me, aſſure your ſelf I will worke with it by all the meanes I can to benefitt the Church of Chriſt, and in that reſpect I will receive it

[1] Fol. 90, back. [2] Fol. 91.

vpon my knees." M*aiſter* Crumwell making report afterward of this anſwere to the kinge, the kinge ſaid againe with great indignac*i*on and ſpite: "yea, is he yet ſo luſtie? Well, let the Pope ſend him a hatt when he will, but I will ſo provide that when ſoeu*er* it co*mm*eth he ſhall weare it on his ſhoulders for head ſhall he have none to ſett it on."

[1]Wherfore the kinge mindinge now vpon the returne of Rich vnto him, to tract no longer time, ſeeing he had matter ſufficient (as he thought) to condemne him of high treaſon for ſpeaking againſt his new lawes, cauſed a Com*mi*ſſion to be made vnder his great ſeale to inquire and determine treaſons: which Com*mi*ſſion was dated the firſt day of June, in the xxvijth yere of his raigne, againſt which time the kings learned Councell had alſo drawne an indightment of treaſon againſt this bleſſed byſhopp, and three holy mounkes of the Charterhouſe of London, whoſe names were, William Exmew, Humfray Midlemore, and Sabaſtian Nudigate. This indightment was not longe in findinge, for on S*ain*t Barnabies daie the Apoſtle beinge the xjth of June, it was p*re*ſented to the Com*mi*ſſione*rs* ſittinge in the kings bench at Weſtminſter, whervpon the Carthuſians were ſhortly after araigned and condemned, and having iudgment of high treaſon pronounced vpon them, were moſt cruelly put to death at Tyborne, the xixth daie of June next followinge, all in their religious habitt*es*: But this good father Biſhop of Rocheſter, [2]or rather this devout and moſt reue*r*end Cardinall, of the holy Church of Rome (for ſo I may now from henceforth terme him), chaunced at that p*re*ſent to be ſo ſick and feeble that he kept his bedd in great daunger of his life: Wherfore the kinge ſent vnto him diue*rs* phiſitians to geve him p*re*ſervatives, wherby he might the rather be able to come to his publike tryall and cruell puniſhment, which the kinge above all things deſired, in ſo much that he ſpent vpon him in charge of phiſicke the ſome of fortie or fiftie poundes: and in the meane time, leſt any conveiance might be made of his goods remayninge at Rocheſter, or els where in Kent, the kinge ſent downe Sir Richard Morriſon of his p*ri*vie chamber, and one Eſtwick, with certaine other Comniſſione*rs* to make a ſeiſure of all his movable goodes they could

[1] Fol. 91, back. [2] Fol. 92.

there finde. Thefe Commiſſioners being come to Rocheſter, accordinge to their commiſſion entred his howſe, and firſt turned out all his ſervants. Then they fell to riflinge of his goodes, wherof ſome part was taken to the kings vſe, but more was imbaſeled to the vſes of them ſelves and their ſervants. Then they came into his librarie of bookes, which the[y] ſpoyled in moſt pittifull wiſe, ſcattering them in ſuch ſort as it was lamentable to behoulde: [1]for it was repleniſhed with ſuch and ſo many kinde of bookes, as the lyke was ſcant to be found againe in the poſſeſſion of any one private man in *Chriſt*endome: and of them they truſſed vp xxxij great pipes, beſides a number that were ſtolen awaie. And whereas many yeares before he had made a deede of guifte of all thoſe bookes and other his howſehould ſtuffe to the Colledge of St. Johns in Cambrige (as is mentioned in the begininge of this Hiſtorie), the poore College was now defrauded of their guifte, and all was turned an other waie: And where lykewiſe a ſome of money of three hundred poundes was geven by one of his *predi*ſceſſors, a biſhopp of Rocheſter, to remaine for ever to the ſaid Sea of Rocheſter, in cuſtodie of the biſhop for the time beinge, for any ſodain miſchance that by occaſion might hap vnto the biſhopricke, the ſame ſome of CCCli, with Cli more laid to yt, was found in his gallerie locked in a Cheſt, and from thence carryed cleane awaie by the Com*m*iſſioners. Amonge all other things found in his howſe I cannot omitt to tell you of a coffer ſtandinge in his Oratorie, where comonly no man came but himſelf alone, for it was his ſecret place of praier. This coffer beinge ſurely locked and ſtandinge alwaies [2]ſo neere vnto him, eu*e*ry man began to thinke *tha*t ſome great treaſure was there ſtored vp, wherfore becauſe no colluſion or falſehood ſhould be vſed to defraude the kinge in a matter of ſo great charge as this was thought to be, witneſſes were ſolemnly called to be *pre*ſent, ſo the coffer was broken vp before them; but when it was open they found within it in ſteed of gould and ſilver, which they looked for, a ſhirt of hear and two or three whipps, wherwith he vſed full often to puniſh himſelf, as ſome of his Chaplins and ſervants would report that were then about him, and curiouſly marked his doings. And other treaſure then that found they none at all. But when report

[1] Fol. 92, back. [2] Fol. 93.

was made to him in his prifon of the opening of that Coffer he was verie forie for yt, and faid that yf haft had not made him forget that and many things els, they fhould not have found yt there at that time.

After this moft reuerend Cardinall was recouered to fome better ftrength by the helpe of his phifitions, and that he was more able to be carryed abroade, he was on Thurfdaie the xvijth of June, brought to the kings bench at Weftminfter hall from the towre, with a huge number of halberdes, bills, *and* other weapons, about him, and the Axe of the towre borne before him with the edge from him (as the manner is). And becaufe he was not yet fo well recouered that he was able to walke by land all the waie on foote, he road part of the waie on horfebacke, in a blacke cloath gowne, and the reft he was carried by water, for that he was not able [1]to ride through for weaknes. As foone as he was come to Weftminfter, he was there presented at the barre before *the* faid Commiffioners, beinge all fet readie in their places againft his cominge, whofe names were thefe: Sir Thomas Awdley, Knight, lord Chauncellor of England; Charles, Duke of Suffolk; Henrie, Erle of Cumberlande; Thomas, Erle of wiltfhire; Thomas Crumwell; Sir Iohn Fitz James, cheef Iuftice of England; Sir Iohn Baldwine, cheefe iuftice of the common pleas; Sir William Pawlett; Sir Richard Lyfter, cheefe barron of the Efchequer; Sir Iohn Port; Sir Iohn Spilman; and Sir Walter Luke, Iuftice of the kings bench; and Sir Anthonie Fitzharbert, one of the Iuftices of the common pleas. Beinge thus prefented before thefe commiffioners, he was commaunded by the name of Iohn Fifher, late of Rochefter, Clerke, otherwife called Iohn Fifher, bifhop of Rochefter, to hould vp his hand, which he did with a moft cheerfull countenance and rare conftancie. Then was his indictment read, which was verie longe and full of wordes, but the effect of it was thus: That he malicioufly, trayteroufly, and falflie, had faid thefe words: "The Kinge our foveraigne lord is not fupreme head in earth of the Church of England:" And beinge reade to the ende it was afked him whether he was guiltie of this treafon or noe? whervnto he pleaded not guiltie. Then was a lurie of twelve men (beinge freeholders of

[1] Fol. 93, back.

middlefex) called to trie the yſſue, whoſe names were these: Sir Hugh Vaughan, Knight; Sir Walter Hungerford, Knight; Thomas [1]Burbage; Iohn Nudigate; william Browne; Iohn Heues; Iaspar Leake; Iohn Palmer; Richard Henrie Yonge; Henrie Lodisman; Iohn Erlerington; and George Hevemingham, Eſquiers. Theſe twelve men being ſworne to trie whether the priſoner were guiltie of this treaſon or noe, at laſt came forth to geve evidence againſt him, Mr. Riche, the ſecret and cloſe meſſenger that paſſed between the kinge and him, as you have read before, who openly in the preſence of the Iudges, and all the people there aſſembled (which were a hughe number) depoſed and ſware that he heard the priſoner saie in plaine wordes within the towre of London, that he beleeved in his conſcience, and by his learninge aſſuredly knewe, that the kinge nether was, nor by right could be, ſupreame head in earth of the Church of England.

When this bleſſed father heard the accuſacions of this moſt wretched and falſe perſon, contrarie to his former oath and promiſſe, he was not a little aſtonied therat, wherfore he ſaid to him in this manner: "Maiſter Rich, I cannot but marvaile to heare you come in and beare witneſſe againſt me of theſe wordes, knowinge in what ſecret manner you came to me; but ſuppoſe I ſo ſaid vnto you, yet in that ſayinge I committed no treaſon: for vpon what occaſion and for what cauſe it might be ſaid your ſelf doth know right well. And therfore, beinge nowe vrged" (ſaid he) "by this occaſion to open ſomwhat of this matter, I ſhall deſire my lordes *and* others here to take a litle patience in hearing what I ſhall saie for my ſelf. This man" (meaninge Maiſter Rich) "came to me from the king (as he ſaid) on a ſecret meſſage, with commendacions from his grace, [2]declaringe at large what a good opinion his maieſtie had of me, and how ſorie he was of my trooble, with many more wordes then are here needfull to be recited, becauſe they tended ſo much to my praiſe, as I was not only aſhamed to heare them, but alſo knew right well that I could no waie deſerve them. At laſt he brake with me of the kings ſupremacie, lately graunted vnto him by acte of perlement, 'to the which' (he ſaid), 'although all the biſhops in the realme haue con-

[1] Fol. 94. [2] Fol. 94, back.

fented, except your felf alone, and alfo the whole Court of Parlement, both fpirituall and temperall, except a verie fewe,' yet he tould me that the king, for better fatiffaccion of his owne confcience, had fent him vnto me in this fecret manner to know my full opinion in the matter, for the great affyaunce he had in me more then in any other. He added further, that yf I would herein franklie and freely advertife his maiefties of my knowledge, that vpon certificat of my miflykinge he was verie lyke to retract much of his former doinges, and make fatiffaccion for the fame, in cafe I fhould fo advife him. When I had heard all his meffage, and confidered a litle vpon his wordes, I put him in minde of the new Act of Parlement, which, ftanding in force as it doth againft all them that fhall directly faie or doe any thing againft yt, might therby indaunger me verie much, in cafe I fhould vtter vnto him any thinge that were offenfive againft the lawe. To that he tould me, that the kinge willed him to affure me on his honor, and in the worde of a kinge, that whatfoeuer I fhould faie vnto him by this his fecrett meffenger, I fhould abide no daunger nor perrill for it, nether that any advantage fhould be taken againft me for the fame: no, although my wordes were never fo directly againft the Statute, feeinge [1]it was but a declaracion of my mind fecretly to him, as to his owne perfon. And for the meffenger himfelf, he gaue me his faithfull promiffe that he would neuer vtter my wordes in this matter to any man livinge, but to the kinge alone. Now therfore, my lordes" (quoth he), "feeinge yt pleafed the kings maieftie to fend me word thus fecretly, vnder the pretence of plaine and trewe meaninge, to know my poor advife and opinion in thefe his waightie and great doinges (which I moft gladly was, and euer will be, to fend him); me thinke it is verie hard in Iuftice to heare the meffengers accufacion, and to alowe the fame as a fufficient teftimonie againft me, in cafe of treafon." To this the meffenger would make no direct anfwere, but with a moft impudent and fhameles face (nether denying his wordes for falfe, nor confeffinge them for trewe) faid, that whatfoeuer he had faid vnto him on the kings behalf, he faid no more then his maieftie commaunded him: "But" (faid he) "yf I had faid to you in fuch fort as you haue declared,

[1] Fol. 95.

I would gladly know what diſcharge this is to you in lawe againſt his ma*iesti*e for ſo directly ſpeakinge againſt the Statute?" wherat ſome of the Iudges, taking quick hould one after an other, ſaid that this meſſage or promiſſe from the kinge to him nether could nor did, by vigor of the lawe, diſcharge him, but in ſo declaring of his minde againſt the Sup*re*macie, yea, though it were at the kings owne com*m*aundement and requeſt, he com*m*itted treaſon by the Statute and nothinge can diſcharge him from death but the kings pardon. This good father, p*er*ceaving the ſmall [1]account made of his wordes and the favorable credit geven to his accuſer, might then eaſilie ſmell which waie the matter would goe: wherfore, directing his ſpeeches to the lordes, his Iudges, he ſaid: "Yet I praie you, my lordes, conſider that by all equitie, iuſtice, worldly honeſtie, and curteous dealinges, I cannot (as the caſe ſtandeth) be directly charged therwith as with treaſon, though I had ſpoken *the* wordes in deed, the ſame being not ſpoken malicioufly, but in the waie of advife and counſell, when it was requeſted of me by the kinge himſelf, and that favour *the* verie wordes of the Statute do geve me, beinge made only againſt ſuch as ſhall malicioufly gainſaie the kinges ſup*re*macie, and none other." To that it was anſwered by ſome of the Iudges, that *the* worde malicioufly in the Statute, is but a sup*er*fluous and void word: for if a man ſpeake againſt the kings ſup*re*macie by any manner of meanes, that ſpeakinge is to be vnderſtanded *and* taken in lawe as malicioufly. "My lorde" (ſaid he), "yf *the* lawe be ſo vnderſtood, then it is a hard expoſition, and (as I take it) contrarie to the meaninge of them *that* made the lawe. But then let me demaund this queſtion, whether a ſingle teſtimonie of one man maie be admitted as ſufficient to prove me guiltie of treaſon for ſpeaking theſe wordes, or noe? and whether my anſwere negatively maie not be accepted againſt his affirmative, to my [2]availe and benefitt, or noe?" To that the Iudges and lawiers anſwered, that (beinge the kings caſe) it reſted much in conſcience and diſcretion of the Jurie, "and as they vpon the evidence geven before them, ſhall find yt, you are ether to be acquited, or els by iudgment to be condemned." The Iurie, havinge heard all this ſimple evidence, dep*ar*ted (according to the order) into a

[1] Fol. 95, back. [2] Fol. 96.

fecret place, there to agree vpon the verdict; but before they went from the place the cafe was fo aggravated to them by my lord Chancellor, making it fo hainous and daungerous a treafon, that they eafily perceived what verdict they muft returne, or els heape fuch daunger vpon their owne heades, as was for none of their cafes to beare. Some other of the Commiſſioners charged this moſt reverend Cardinall with obſtinacie and ſingularitie, alleadging that he, beinge but one man, did prefumptuouſly ſtand againſt that which was in the great Councell of Parliament agreed and finally confented vnto by all the Biſhopps of this Realme, faving himſelf alone. But to that he anſwered, that he might well be accounted ſinguler, yf he alone ſhould ſtand in this matter (as they ſaid); but, having on his part the reſt of the biſhopps of Chriſtendome, farr ſurmountinge the number of the biſhops of England, they could not iuſtly account him ſinguler. And having, on his part, all the Catholick biſhops of the world, from Chriſt his Aſſention till nowe, ioyned with the whole conſent of Chriſts vniuerſall Church, "I muſt needs" (ſaid he), "account mine owne part farre the furer. And as for obſtinacie, which is likewiſe obiected againſt me, I have no waie to [1]cleere my ſelf therof, but by my owne ſolemne word *and* promiſſe to the contrarie, yf you pleaſe to beleeue it; or els, yf that will not ſerve, I am here readie to confirme the ſame by mine oath." Thus in effect he anſwered their obiections, though with many moe wordes, both wiſely and profoundly vttered, and that with marvelous corragious and rare conſtancie, in ſo much as many of his hearers, yea, ſome of his Iudges, lamented ſo greevouſly, that their inward ſorrowe on all ſides was expreſſed by the outward teares of their eyes, to perceiue ſuch a famous and reuerrend man in daunger to be condemned to cruell death by ſuch an impious lawe, vpon ſo weake evidence geven by ſuch a wicked accuſer, contrarie to all faith and promiſſe of the kinge himſelf. But all pittie, mercie, and right being laid aſide, rigor, crueltie and malice, tooke place: for the xij men, beinge ſhortly returned from their conſultacion, verdict was geven that he was guiltie of the treaſon: which, although they thus did vpon the menacinge *and* threatninge wordes of the Commiſſioners, and the

[1] Fol. 96, back.

kings learned Counfell, yet was it (no doubt) full fore againſt their conſciences (as ſome of them would after report to their dying daies) only for ſafetie of their goods *and* lives, which they were well aſſured to loſe in caſe they had acquyted him. After the verdict thus geven by the xij men, The lo*rd* Chancellor, com*m*aunding ſilence to be kept, ſaid vnto the p*ri*ſoner in this ſorte: My lord of Rocheſter, you haue bene here araigned of high treaſon, and puttinge yo*ur* ſelf to the triall of xij men, you haue pleaded not guiltie, and they, notwithſtandinge, have found you guilty in theire conſciences: wherefore, yf you haue any more to [1]ſaie for yo*ur*ſelf, you are nowe to be heard, or els to receive iudgment accordinge to the order and courſe of the lawe. Then ſaid this bleſſed father againe: "Truly, my Lo*rds*, yf that which I haue before ſpoken be not ſufficient, I haue no more to ſaie, but only to deſire Almightie God to forgeve them that haue thus condemned me, for I thinke they know not what they haue done." Then my lo*rd* Chancellor, framinge himſelf to a ſolemnitie in countenance, pronounced ſentence of death vpon him in manner and forme followinge: "You ſhall be ledd to the place from whence you came, and from thence ſhall be drawne through the Cittie to the place of execution at Tyborne, where yo*ur* body ſhall be hanged by the necke: and beinge half alive, you ſhall be cutt downe and throwne to the ground, yo*ur* bowells to be taken out of yo*ur* body, and burnt before you, beinge alive; yo*ur* head to be ſmitten of, and yo*ur* bodie to be devided into four quarters; and after, yo*ur* head and quarters to be ſet vp where the kinge ſhall appoint, and god have mercy vpon yo*ur* ſoule."

After the pronouncing of this horrible and cruell ſentence of death, the Leifetenant of the Towre with his bande of men ſtood readie to receive and carrie him back againe to his priſon. But before his departure he deſired audience of the Com*m*iſſioner*s* for a few wordes, which being graunted he ſaid thus in effect: "My Lo*rds*, I am here condemned before you of high treaſon for denyall of *the* kings Sup*re*macie ou*er* the Church of England, but by what order of iuſtice I leave to god, who is ſearcher both of *the* kings ma*ie*ties conſcience and yo*urs*. [2]Neu*er*theles beinge found guiltie (as it is

[1] Fol. 97. [2] Fol. 97, back.

tearmed) I am and muſt be content with all that god ſhall ſend, to whoſe will I wholely reſerve and ſubmitt my ſelf. And now to tell you more plainly my minde towching this matter of the king's Sup*re*macie, I thinke in deed and alwais have thought, and do now laſtly affirme, that his Grace cannot iuſtly claime any ſuch Sup*re*macie over the Church of god as he now taketh vpon him, nether hath it bene e*ue*r ſeene or heard of, that anie tempo*r*all Prince before his daies hath *pre*ſumed to that dignitie. wherfore yf the kinge will now adventure himſelf in proceedinge in this ſtraunge and vnwonted Cafe, no doubt but he ſhall deeply incurre the greevous diſpleaſure of Almightie god, to the great daunger of his owne ſoul and of manie others, and to *the* vtter ruine of this realme com*m*itted to his charge: wherof will enſewe ſome ſharpe puniſhment at his hande. wherfore I pray God his grace may remember himſelf in time, and hearken to good Counſell, for the p*re*ſervation of himſelf and his realme, and the quietnes of all Chri*ſt*endome;" Which wordes being ended he was conveyed back againe to the towre of london, part on foote, and part on horſeback, with a lyke number of men bearing halberds and other weapons about him, as was before at his coming to araignment. And when he was come to the towre gate, he turned him back to all his traine that had thus conducted him forward and backward, and ſaid vnto them, "my maiſters, I thanke you all for the great labor and paines ye have taken with me this daie, I am not able to geue you any thinge in recompence, for I have nothinge lefte, and therfore I praie accept in [1]good part my hartie thankes:" and this he ſpake with ſo luſtie a co*u*rage, ſo amiable a countenance, and with ſo freſh and livelie a colo*ur*, as he ſeemed rather to haue come from a great feaſt or a banquett, then from his Araignment, ſhewing by all his ieſtures and outward countenance ſuch ioy and gladnes, as it was eaſie to perceave how erneſtly he deſired in his hart to be in *that* bleſſed ſtate for which he had ſo longe labored; wherof he made the ſurer account, for that he was thus innocently condemned for Chriſt's Cauſe.

Thus beinge after his Condemnac*i*on the ſpace of foure daies in his priſon, he occupied himſelf in continuall praier moſt fervently, and although he looked daily for death, yet could ye not haue perceived

[1] Fol. 98.

him one whitt diſmaide or diſquieted thereat, nether in word nor countenance, but ſtill continewed his former trade of conſtancie and patience, and that rather with a more ioyfull cheere, and free minde then *euer* he had done before, which appeared well by this Chaunce that I will tell you. There happened a falſe rumor to riſe ſodenly amonge the people, that he ſhould be brought to his execu*c*ion by a certaine daie, whervpon his Cooke that was wonte to dreſſe his dinn*er* and carrie it daily vnto him, hearing among others of this execu*c*ion, dreſſed him no dinn*er* at all that daie, wherfore at the Cookes next repaire vnto him, he demaunded the cauſe why he brought him not his dinn*er* as he was wonte to doe. "S*ir*" (ſaid *th*e Cooke), "it was comonly talked all the towne ou*er* that you ſhould haue dyed *that* daie, and therfore I thought it but in vaine to dreſſe anie thing for you." "Well," ſaid he merrily to him againe, "for all that report thou ſeeſt me yet alive, and therfore whatſoeu*er* newes thou ſhalt heare of me hereafter, let me no more lacke my dinn*er*, but make yt readie as thou art wont to doe, and yf thou ſee me dead when thou co*mm*eſt, then eat it thyſelf; but I promiſe thee, yf I be alive, I mind by god's grace to eate neu*er* a bitt the leſſe."

[1]Thus while this bleſſed Biſhop, and moſt reu*er*end Cardinall, lay daily expecting the houre of his death, the king (who no leſſe deſired his death then himſelf looked for it) cauſed at laſt a writt of execution to be made, and brought to S*ir* Edmund walſingham, Leiuetenent of the towre. But where by his iudgment at Weſtm*infter*, he was condemned (as ye haue heard before) to drawing, hanginge, and quarteringe, as traytors always be, yet was he ſpared from that cruell execu*c*ion, not for any pittie or clemencie ment on the kings part towards him. But the only cauſe therof (as I have credibly heard) was for that, yf he ſhould have bene laid vpon a hardell and drawne to Tyborne, being *th*e ordinarie place for that purpoſe, and diſtant above two miles from *th*e Towre, it was not vnlykely, but he would have bene deade longe ere he had come there, ſeeing he was a man of great age, and beſides *that* verie ſickly and weake of body, through his longe impriſonment. wherfore order was taken that he ſhould be ledd noe further then to the Towre hill, and there to have his heade ſtrooke of.

[1] Fol. 98, back.

After the Leiftennant had received this bloodie writte, he called vnto him certaine perſons, whoſe ſervice and preſence was to be uſed in that buſines, commaunding them to be readie againſt *the* next day in the morninge, and becauſe it was then verie late in the night, and the priſoner aſleepe, he was loath to diſſeaſe him from his reſt for that time, and ſo in the morninge before five of the Clocke he came to him in his chamber in the bell towre, finding him yet aſleepe in his bedd, and waked him, ſhewing him *that* he was come to him on a meſſage from the kinge; and after ſome circumſtances [1] vſed with perſwaſion that he ſhould remember himſelf to be an ould man, and that for age he could not by courſe of nature live longe; he tould him at the laſt that he was come to ſignifie vnto him, that the king's pleaſure was he ſhould ſuffer death that forenoone. "Well" (quoth this bleſſed father), "yf this be *your* errand, you bringe me no great newes, for I have longe time looked for this meſſage; and I moſt humbly thanke the kings ma*jeſ*tie that it pleaſeth him to ridd me from all this worldly buſines, and I thank you alſo for *your* tydings. But I praie you, m*aiſ*ter Leivete*n*nant" (ſaid he), "when is my houre that I muſt goe hence?" "Yo*ur* houre" (ſaid the leivetennant), "muſt be nine of the clocke." "And what houre is it now?" ſaid he. "Yt is now about five," ſaid the Leivetenant. "Well, then" (ſaid he), "let me by yo*ur* patience ſleepe an houre or two, for I have ſlept verie little this night; and yet, to tell you the truth, not for any feare of death, I thanke god, but by reaſon of my great infirmitie and weaknes." "The kings further pleaſure is" (ſaid *the* Leivete*n*nant), "that you ſhould vſe as litle ſpeech as may be, ſpecially of any thing towchinge his Ma*ieſ*tie, wherby the people ſhould have any cauſe to thinke of him or his proceedings otherwiſe then well." "for that" (ſaid he), "you ſhall ſee me order myſelf as, by god's grace, nether the king nor any man els ſhall have occaſion to miſtake of my wordes:" with which anſwere the Leivetenant departed from him, and ſo the priſoner falling againe to reſt ſlept ſoundly two houres and more. And after he was waked he called to his man to helpe him vp. But firſt of all he co*m*maunded him to fetch awaie the ſhirte of heare w*hi*ch accuſtomably he wore on his backe, and to convey it

[1] Fol. 99.

privily out of the howſe, and in ſtedd therof to laie him out a cleane white ſhirt, and all the beſt apparrell he had as cleanly bruſhed as might be, and as he was in araying himſelf, his man, perceavinge in him a more curioſtie and care for the fine *and* cleanly [1]wearinge of his apparrell that day then euer was wont to be before, demaunded of him what this ſodaine change ment, ſaying that his lordſhip knew well ynough he muſt put of all againe within two houres and looſe yt. "What of that?" (ſaid he); "doſt thou not marke that this is our mariage daie, and that it behooveth vs therfore to vſe more clenlineſſe for ſolemnitie of *that* mariage?" About nine of the Clocke the Leiuetennant came againe to his priſon, and finding him almoſt readie ſaid that he was now come for him. "I will waite vpon you ſtraight" (ſaid he), "as faſt as this thinne bodie of mine will geve me leave." Then ſaid he to his man, "reach me my furred tippett and put it about my necke." "O, my lord," quoth the Leiuetenant, "what need you be ſo carefull for your health for this litle, being as your lordſhip knoweth not much above an houre?" "I thinke no otherwiſe" (ſaid this bleſſed father), "but yet in the meane time I will keepe myſelf as well as I can till the verie time of my execucion: for I tell you truth, though I have (I thanke our lord) a verie good deſire and willing minde to die at this preſent, and ſo truſt of his infinite mercie and goodnes he will continewe it, yett will I not willingly hinder my health in the meane time one minute of an houre, but ſtill prolonge the ſame as longe as I can by ſuch reaſonable waies and meanes as Almighty god hath provided for me." And with that, taking a litle booke in his hand, which was a new Teſtament lying by him, he made a croſſe on his foreheade and went out of his priſon doare with the Leiuetenant; [2]being ſo weake that he was ſcant able to goe downe the ſtairs, wherfore at the ſtaires foote, he was taken vp in a chaire between two of the Leiuetenants men, and carried to the towre gate with a great number of weapons about him to be deliuered to the Sheriffes of London for execution. And as they were come to the vttermoſt precinct or libertie of the towre, they reſted there with him a ſpace, till ſuch time as one was ſent afore, to know in what redines the Sheriffes were to receiue him;

[1] Fol. 99, back. [2] Fol. 100.

duringe which ſpace he roſe out of his chair, and ſtandinge on his feete leaned his ſhoulder to the wall, and lifting his eyes vp toward heaven he opened his litle booke in his hand and ſaid, "O lord, this is the laſt time that euer I ſhall open this booke, let ſome comfortable place now chaunce vnto me, wherby I, thy poore ſervant, maie glorifie thee in this [m]y [1] laſt howre," and with that, lookinge into the booke, the firſt thinge that came to his ſight, were theſe wordes, "*hec est autem vita eterna vt cognoſcant te ſolum verum deum, et quem miſiſti Jeſum Chriſtum. Ego te clarificaui ſuper terram opus conſummari quod dediſti mihi vt faciam: et nunc clarifica tu me pater apud temetipſum claritate quam habui priuſquam*, etc." And with that he ſhutt the booke together and ſaid: "Here is even learning ynough for me even to my lives ende." And ſo (the Sherifs being readie for him) he was taken vp againe amonge certaine of the Sheriffs men with a new and much greater companie [2] of weapons then was before, and carryed to the Scaffolde on the towre hill, otherwiſe called eaſt Smithfield, himſelf praying all the waie, and recording vpon the wordes which he before had read, and when he was come to the foot of the ſcaffolde they that carried him offered to helpe him vp the ſtaires; but then ſaid he, "Naie, maiſters, ſeeinge I am come ſo farre let me alone, and ye ſhall ſee me ſhifte for myſelf well ynough," and ſo went vp the ſtaires without any helpe ſo lively, that it was marvaile to them that knewe before of his debillitie and weaknes. But as he was mounting vp the ſtaires the ſowtheaſt ſonne ſhyned verie bright in his face; whervpon he ſaid to himſelf theſe wordes, liftinge vp his handes, "*Accedite ad eum et illuminamini et facies veſtræ non confundentur.*" By that time he was vp the Scaffold, it was about tenn of the Clocke, where the executioner being readie to doe his office kneeled downe to him (as the faſhion is) and aſked him forgevenes. "I forgeve thee," ſaid he, "with all my harte, and I truſt thou ſhalt ſee me ouercome this ſtorme luſtily." Then was his gowne and typpett taken from him, and he ſtood in his dubblett and hoſe in ſight of all the people; wherof was noe ſmall number aſſembled to ſee this horrible execution. There was to be ſeene, a longe, leane, and ſlender body, having on it litle other ſubſtance beſides the ſkynne and bones, in ſo much as

[1] MS. thy. [2] Fol. 100, back.

moſt part of the beholders marveled much to ſee a living man ſo farr conſumed, for he ſeemed a verie Image of death, and as it were death in man's ſhape vſinge a man's voice, and therefore [1]monſtrous was it thought, that the kinge could be ſo cruell as to put ſuch a man to death, being alreadie ſo neere death as he was, yea, though he had bene an offender in deed. And ſurely it maie be thought that yf he had bene in the Turkes dominion and there found guiltie of ſome great offence; yet would the Turke neuer have put him to death, beinge alreadie ſo neere death. For it is an horrible and exceeding crueltie to kill that thing which is prefently dyinge, except it be for pittie ſake, to ridd it from longer paine; which in this Caſe appeared not, and therfore it maie be thought that the crueltie and hard hart of kinge Henrie in this point, paſſed all the Turkes and Tyrauntes that ever haue bene heard or read of.

When the innocent and holie Cardinall was come vpon the Scaffold, he ſpake to the people in effect as followeth: "Chriſtian people, I am come hither to die for the faith of *Chriſts* holy Catholick Church, and I thanke god hitherto my ſtomack hath ſerved me verie well thervnto, ſo that yet I have not feared death: wherfore I do deſire you all to helpe and aſſiſt me with your praiers, that at the verie point and inſtant of deaths ſtroake, I maie in that verie moment ſtand ſtedfaſt without faintinge in any one point of the Catholick faith free from any feare; and I beſeech almightie god of his infinite goodnes to ſave the kinge and this Realme, and that it maie pleaſe him to holde his holy hand ouer yt, and ſend the king good Counſell." Theſe or lyke wordes he ſpake with ſuch a cheerfull countenance, ſuch a ſtowte and conſtant courage, and ſuch a reverent gravitie that [2]he appeared to all men not only void of feare but alſo gladd of death. Beſides this he vttered his wordes ſo diſtinctly and with ſo lowde and cleere a voice, that the people were aſtonied therat, and noted it for a miraculous thinge to heare ſo plaine and audible a voice come from ſo weake and ſickly an ould bodie; for the yongeſt man in that preſence, being in good and perfect health, could not have ſpoken to be better heard and perceived than he was. Then after theſe fewe wordes by him vttered, he kneeled downe on both

[1] Fol. 101. [2] Fol. 101, back.

his knees and ſaid certaine praiers, amonge which (as ſome reported) one was the Hymne of *Te deum laudamus* to the end, *and the* pſalme *In te domine ſperaui.* Then came the executioner & bound a hand-carcher about his eyes, and ſo this holy father lifting up his handes and hart to heaven, ſaid a few praiers *which* were not longe but fervent and devout, which being ended, he laid his holy head downe over the middeſt of the blocke, where the Executioner being readie with a ſharp and heavie Axe cutt a funder his ſlender necke at one blowe, which bledd ſo abundantly that many wonndred to ſee ſo much blood yſſue out of ſo leane and ſlender a bodie; and ſo head and body being ſevered, his innocent ſoule mounted to *the* bliſſfull ioys of heaven.

And as concerninge the head the Executioner put it into a bagge, and carryed it awaie with him, meaninge to have ſet it vpon London bridge that night as he was commanded. But it was reported that the ladie Ann Bullen, who was the cheef cauſe of this holy mans death, had a certaine deſire [1] to ſee the head before yt were ſett vp; whervpon being brought vnto her, ſhe beheld yt a ſpace, and at laſt contemptuouſly ſaid theſe or lyke wordes: "Is this head that ſo often exclaymed againſt me? I truſt it ſhall neuer do me more harme;" and with that ſtrykinge it vpon the mouth with the backe of her hand, hurte one of her fingers vpon a tooth that ſtood ſomwhat more out then the reſt did: which finger after grewe ſore, *and* puttinge her to paine many daies after, was neuertheleſſe cured at laſt with ſome difficultie. But after it was healed the marke of the hurt place remayned to be ſeene till her dyinge day. This maie ſeem ſtrange, as a rare example of cruell bouldnes in that ſexe, which by nature is fearfull and cannot well behould ſuch ſpectacles, and therfore argues no doubt a wonderfull malice, which ſhe by lykelyhood bare to the holy man living, that could thus cruelly vſe his head beinge dead: Then ſtrippinge the bodie out of his ſhirte and all his cloathes, he departed thence, leavinge the headles carcaſſe naked vpon the ſcaffold, where it remained after that ſort for the moſt part of that daie, savinge that one for pittie and humanitie caſt a litle ſtrawe vpon his privities; and about eight of the clock in the eveninge, com-

[1] Fol. 102.

maundment came from the kings Counfell, to fuch as watched about the dead bodie (for it was ſtill watched with manie halberds and weapons), that they ſhould cauſe it to be buried. Whervpon two of *the* watchers tooke it vpon a halbert betweene them, and ſo carried it to a church yard there hard by, called Allhallows Barkinge, where on the north ſide of the Church hard by the wall they digged a grave with their halberdes, and therin without any reu*er*ence tumbled the bodie of this holy prelate and [1] bleſſed Martyr all naked and flatt vpon his bellie, without ether ſheet or other accuſtomed thinge belonging to a chriſtian mans buriall, and ſo covered it quickly with earth, followinge herein the kings co*m*maundment, who willed it ſhould be buryed contemptuouſly. And this was done on the daie of St. Albane the prothomartyr and firſt martyr of Englande, being Tueſday the xxijth of Iune, in the yere of our redemtion 1535, and the xxvijth yere of king Henries raigne, after he had lived full three-ſcore and ſixteene yeares nyne mounthes and odd daies.

The next daie after his buriall, the head beinge ſomwhat per-boyled in hott water, was pricked vpon a pole and ſett on high vpon London bridge, amonge the reſt of the holy Carthuſians heades that ſuffred death lately before him. And here I cannot omitt to declare vnto you the miraculous ſight of this head, which after it had ſtand vp the ſpace of xiiij daies vpon the bridge could not be perceived to waſt nor co*n*ſume, nether for the weather, which then was verie hott, neither for the p*ar*boylinge in hott water, but grewe daily freſher and freſher, ſo that in his life time he neu*er* looked ſo well; for his cheekes being bewtifyed with a comly redd, the face looked as though it had beholden the people paſſinge by, and would have ſpoken to them, which many tooke for a miracle [2] that Almightie god was pleaſed to ſhew aboue the courſe of nature in thus p*re*-ſervinge the freſh and lively color of his face farr paſſinge the color he had beinge alive, wherby was notifyed to the worlde the *in*nocencie and holines of this bleſſed father, that thus innocently was contented to looſe his head in defence of his mothers heade, the holy Catholick Church of Chriſt. Wherfore the people cominge daily to ſee this ſtrange ſight, the paſſage ou*er* the bridge was ſo ſtopped

[1] Fol. 102, back. [2] Fol. 103.

with their goinge and comminge, that almoft nether Cart nor horfe could paffe: And therfore at the end of xiiij daies the Executioner commaunded to throwe downe the heade in the night time into the river of Thames, and in place therof was fett the head of the moft bleffed and conftant Martyr Sir Thomas Moore, his companion *and* fellowe in all his troobles; who fuffred his paffion the vjth day of Julye next followinge.

And towchinge the place of his buriall in Barkinge Church yard, it was well obferved at that time by diuers worthie parfonages of the nations of Italie, Spaine, and Fraunce, that were then abidinge in the realme, and more dilligently noted and wrote the courfe of things, *and* with leffe feare and fufpition then any of the kings fubiects might or durft doe: that for the fpace of vij yeares after his buriall there grewe nether leafe nor graffe vpon his grave, but the earth ftill remained as bare as though it had bene continewally occupied *and* trodden.

[1] When by common fame this bloodie execution was blowne and fpredd abroad, ftraight waie the name of kinge Henrie began to growe odious amonge all good people, not only in his owne Realme at home, but alfo amonge all forraine princes and nations abroad through *Chriften*dome, which fpecially appeared in the moft worthie Pope Paule the third, who with great greefe fignified this horrible and barbarous crueltie by his feuerall letters to the *Chriftian* princes, openly deteftinge the outrage of kinge Henrie in committing fuch a wicked and manifeft inurie, not only againft the freedome and priveledge of the Church of Rome, but alfo againft the whole ftate of *Chriftes* vniverfall Church, for the which, in fhort fpace after, he pronounced the tirrible fentence of excommunication againft him.

Lykewife the moft noble and Chriftian Emperor Charles the vth, at fuch time as Sir Thomas Moore was beheaded, and word therof brought to him, he fent fpeedily for Sir Thomas Elliott, the kings Ambaffador, there refident with him, and afked him whether he heard any fuch newes or noe; who anfwered him that he heard noe fuch thinge. [2] "Yea" (faid the Emperour), "it is trewe, and too true that Sir Thomas Moore is now executed to death as a good

[1] Fol. 103, back. [2] Fol. 104.

Bifhopp hath lately bene before;" and with that (geving a figth) faid: "Alas, what ment the kinge to kill two fuch men: for" (faid he) "the Bifhopp was fuch a one, as for all purpofes (I thinke) *the* kinge had not the lyke againe in all his Realme, nether yet was to be matched through *Chriſt*endome; So that" (said he) "the king, *your maiſter*, hath (in killinge that Bifhopp) killed at one blowe all the bifhopp*es* in England," meaning (no doubt) that this bifhop, conſidering his paſtorall care and conſtant profeſſion of his bifhoply duty in defence of the Church, in reſpect of the reſt of his brethren, did only deſerve the name of a bifhopp. "And Sir Thomas Moore" (faid he) "was weil-knowne for a man of fuch profound wifdome, cunninge, and vertue, that yf he had bene towards me as he was towardes the kinge *your maiſter*, I had rather have loſt the beſt Cittie in all my dominion then fuch a man."

And in lyke manner kinge Frauncis, the french kinge, though in ſome reſpects a man wiſhed to be otherwiſe then he was, yet talkinge on a time with Sir John wallop, *the* kings Ambaſſador, of thoſe two bleſſed men, tould him plainly that ether the kinge his *maiſter* had verie ill counſell about him, or els himſelf had a verie hard hart, that could put to death two fuch worthie men, as the lyke were not again within his realme: wherof kinge Henrie being aduertiſed tooke it verie ill at the hands of king Frauncis for ſo reporting of him, ſayinge, that he did nothinge but *that* himſelf was firſt made privie to yt.

[1]But generally amonge all *Chriſten* people kinge Henrie was both ill thought and ill ſpoken of, as no doubt but there was great cauſe, for ſundrie conſideracions, as well for the innocent death of this bleſſed father as of diuers other bleſſed men, both ſpirituall and temperall: wherof ſome dyed before him and ſome after him, though in all reſpects no one comparable to him, partly for his great age, partly for his profound learninge, partly for his ſanctitie of life, and partly for his great and high dignities. as after ſhall be declared unto you.

In ſtature of bodie he was tall and comly, exceeding the common and midle ſort of men: for he was to the quantitie of 6 foote in

[1] Fol. 104, back.

height, and being therwith verie ſlender and leane, was neuertheles vpright and well framed, ſtraight backed, bigg ioynted and ſtrongly ſynewed. His hear by nature black, though in his later time, through age and imprifonment, turned to hoarenefs or rather whitenes, his eyes longe and rounde, nether full black nor full graie, but of a mixt color between both; his forehead ſmooth and large, his nofe of a good and even proportion, ſomwhat wide mouthed and bigg iawed, as one ordained to vtter ſpeech much, wherin was notwithſtandinge a certaine comlineſſe; his ſkinne ſomwhat tawnie mixed with manie blew vaines; his face, handes, and all his bodie ſo bare of fleſh as is almoſt incredible, which came the rather (as may be thought) [1]by the great abſtinance and pennance he vſed vpon himſelf many yeres together, even from his youth. In his countenance he bare ſuch a reuerend gravitie, and therwith in his doings exercifed ſuch diſcreet ſeveritie, that not only of his equalls, but even of his ſuperiors he was both honored and feared. In ſpeech he was verie milde, temperat, and modeſt, ſaving in matters of god and his charge, which then began to trooble the worlde; and therin he wolde be earneſt above his accuſtomed order. But vainly or without cauſe he would neuer ſpeake, nether was his ordinarie talke of common worldly matters, but rather of the Divinitie and high power of god; of the ioys of heaven and the paines of hell; of the glorious death of martirs, and ſtreight lyfe of Confeſſors, with ſuch lyke vertuous and profitable talke, which he alwais vttered with ſuch a heavenly grace, that his wordes were alwais a great edifyinge to his hearers. He had ſuch a continewall impreſſion of death in his hart, that his mowth neuer ceaſed to vtter the inward thoughts of his minde, not only in all times of his exercife, but alſo at his meales; for he would alwaies ſaie that the remembrance of death came neuer out of ſeaſon. And of his owne death he would now and then (as occaſion of ſpeech was geven) caſt out ſuch wordes as though he had ſome foreknowledge of the manner of his death. For divers of his Chaplens and howſehould ſervants have reported that longe before his death they haue heard him ſay that he ſhould not die in his bedd; but alwais in ſpeaking therof he

[1] Fol. 105.

would vtter his wordes with ſuch a cheerfull countenance [1]as they might eaſily perceiue him rather to conceiue ioy then ſorrowe therat. In ſtudie he was verie laborious, and painfull, in preachinge aſſiduous, eu*er* beating downe herefie *and* vice; in praier moſt fervent and devout; in faſting, abſtinence, and puniſhing of his bare bodie, rigorous without meaſure. And gen*er*ally in all things belonginge to the care and charge of a trew biſhopp, he was to all the biſhops of England living in his daies the verie mirrour *and* lanterne of light. In his time he wrote many famous *and* learned workes, wherof ſo manie as haue come to our knowlege I have thought good to notifie vnto you.

(The list of books is omitted, and a note in the margin says: "here wants *the* cataloge of books.")

[2]Many other learned treatiſes this profound Doctour wrote with great dilligence, wherof no more came to light, becauſe he lived not to finiſh them; but my ſelf have ſeene divers of them, and ſome others I have heard of by report of good and credible perſons. And it was once tould me by a reu*er*end father, that was Deane of Rocheſter many yeares together, named M*aiſter* Phillips, That on a time in the daies of kinge Edward the ſixt, when certaine Co*m*miſſion*er*s were coming towards him to ſearch his howſe for books, he for feare burned a large volume, which this holy biſhop had compiled, contayning in yt the whole ſtorie and matter of divorce, which volume he gave him with his owne hand a litle before his trooble for the loſſe wherof the deane wold manie times after lament, and wiſh the booke whole againe, vpon condic*i*on that he had not one groat to live on. Many other of his workes were conſumed by the iniquitie of hereticks, which ſhortly after his death ſwarmed thick in eu*er*y place, and grew into great credit, doing therby what themſelves liſted. And, as it hath bene reported by a good ould preiſt, called m*aiſter* Buddell, who in his youth wrote many of his books for him, ther came to him on a certaine time, in the ſore ſaid king Edwards daies, a miniſter, by authoritie of him that then occupyed the Sea of Rocheſter, and tooke from him as many written bookes and papers of this holy mans labors as loaded a horſe, and, carrying them to his m*aiſter*, they were all afterwards burned (as he heard ſaie) by *the*

[1] Fol. 105, back. [2] Fol. 106.

m*aifte*r miniſter *and the* man. [1]This m*aifte*r Buddell was then Parſon of Cookeſtone, in kent, not far from Rocheſter, where he yet liveth a verie ould man, and declareth many notable things of the auſtere life and vertue of this holy man.

But, although many of his doings were thus obſcured and loſt by this wicked meane, yet ſhall his name neu*er* die, nor be darkned, ſo longe as the reſt of his writings ſhall remaine, nor yet ſo longe as the worthie wrytings of ſo many other profound Doctors ſhall be extant, which after his daies wrote highlie to his laude and praiſe: wherof, although the number be verie great, and would require a whole volume to expreſſe them all, yet I cannot omitt to ſet forth vnto you the ſayings of ſome of them, beinge as they are of ſuch great authoritie, credit, and worthines.

And, firſt to begin at our holy Father, Pope Paule the third, he, wryting (as before is ſaid) to the Princes of *Chriſt*endome, of the moſt wicked and cruell dealinge of kinge Henrie againſt this godlie man, wrote amonge others one letter to Ferdinando, kinge of Romans, which myſelf have ſeene and redd. In this letter, after great complaint made of kinge Henrie for killing of ſuch a man, whom he before for his great ſanctitie and vertue had inrolled into the number and ſocietie of the Cardinalls, hoping therby that all ſhould have turned to his better ſafetie *and* deliverance, becauſe that dignitie in all places hath ever bene accounted for holy, yet now falling out otherwiſe; [2]he taketh occaſion to compare the doings of king Henrie the eight to the doings of his progenitors, king Henrie the ſeconde: and this holy father he compareth, or rather p*re*ferreth, to the holy martyr, S*ain*t Thomas of Canterburie, ſayinge *that* this king Henrie did not only renewe the impietie of that king Henrie, but alſo went far beyond him: for where he ſlewe one, this ſlew many. S*ain*t Thomas defended the right of one particuler Church, this of the vniu*er*ſall Church: That kinge killed an archbiſhopp, but this kinge hath pu to death a Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome. That kinge exiled S*ain*t Thomas by longe baniſhment, but this kinge tormented this holie man by long and hard impriſonment. He ſent vnto S*ain*t Thomas certaine hired men to kill him: to this was aſſigned only a hangman.

[1] Fol. 106, back. [2] Fol. 107.

He cauſed *Saint* Thomas to be ſlaine by a forcible death, but this by a ſhamefull torment hath killed the holy man of god. He, in concluſion, fought to purge himſelf before Alexander the third, and layinge the falte vpon others, did with humilitie take vpon him ſuch pennance as was to him inioyned by the Biſhop of Rome. But this, with a moſt obſtinat minde, defended his owne horrible fact, ſhowing with a moſt erneſt deſire himſelf not only vnwilling to pennance, but alſo becometh a ſtubborne and rebellious enemie againſt the Church of Rome.

Then conſider what that man of happie memorie, Cardinal Poole, wryteth of him in ſundrie places of his workes, who in his life time both knewe him, and was familiarly acquainted with him. But ſpecially in that booke which he wrote [1] to kinge Henrie the eight intituled *Pro eccleſiaſticæ vnitatis defenſione*, wherin he extolleth the name of this bleſſed Prelate with wordes accordinge to his great worthines, ſayinge to the kinge, that yf an ambaſſador had bene to be ſent from earth to Heaven, there could not amonge all the Biſhopps and Clergie ſo fitt a man be choſen as he; for what other man, faith he, have *the* preſent, or of many yeres paſt haue ye had comparable with him in ſanctitie, learninge, wiſdome, and carefull dilligence in the office and dutie of a biſhop? of whom ye may iuſtly above all other nations glorie and reioyce: that if all the corners of Chriſtendome were narrowly ſought, there could not be found out any one man that in all things did accompliſh the partes and degrees of a biſhopp equall with him. Further, in the ſame place he lawdeth him highly for his great travell *and* care in the educacion of youth, ſpecially of the yonger students in the vniuerſitie of Cambrige, for that by his only meane and motion that noble and right vertuous Ladie Margaret, Counteſſe of Richmound and Darbie, ſomtime his *Miſtreſs*, erected two famous Colleges in the vniuerſitie (as before in this Hiſtorie hath bene declared) wherin yonge ſchollers receive great comfort towards their inſtruccion in learninge: vnto which number himſelf became alſo a patron and father. [2] And, beinge after choſen by the whole conſent of *the* vniuerſitie, to the roome of their high Chauncellor, he became no

[1] Fol. 107, back. [2] Fol. 108.

leſſe carefull over them then over the flocke of his Dioceſſe. All which, with manie other high praiſes, this moſt vertuous, learned, and noble borne Cardinall, fetteth out very bountifully of him.

Lykewiſe, bleſſed Sir Thomas Moore, his Companion and fellow in aduerſitie and trooble, vpon occaſion of talke miniſtred vnto him by his daughter, Miſtris Roper, about refuſinge the Oath: by my lord of Rochefter and himſelf, faith in a certaine epiſtle written to ſaid daughter, that he hath him in ſuch a reuerrend eſtimacion, as for his wiſdome, learning, and longe approved vertue together, he reckoneth in this realme noe one man to be matched or compared with him.

Furthermore, the renouñed biſhopp of Nuceria, and moſt eloquent Hyſtoriographer of our time, Paulus Jovius; although he lacketh no commendacion of him through his whole Hiſtorie, yet in one place ſpecially he ſaith: that vpon the acceptance of his great charge of a biſhoprick, he became ſo vigilant over his flocke the ſpace of many yeres together, that he was to be woundred at, [1]not only of his owne countrie people at home, but alſo of all other outward nations: then he greatly reuerrenceth him for his conſtant pietie in defendinge the maryage between kinge Henrie and his lawfull wife Queene Catherin, and for withſtandinge the kings wilfull minde in takinge vpon him ſo abſurdly the name and tytle of ſupreame head of *the* church, for the which he did not refuſe, even in his ould age, to ſuffer the loſſe of libertie, livings, lyfe, and all.

Then waighe what is ſaid of him by that moſte eloquent and learned father of our daies, Staniſlaus Hoſius, biſhopp of Warmia in Poland, and Cardinall of Rome, in his Booke of Confutacion againſt Brentius the Hereticke. His wordes beinge thus: *fatemur et nos Brenti, etc.*; wherein he ſheweth verie notably howe, although in all ages Heretickes haue liſte vp themſelves againſt the Church of god, yet hath he not forſaken or lefte her deſtitute at any time, nether doth he yet forſake her at this daie. For againſt Arrius god raiſed thoſe notable and excellent men, Liberius, Athanaſius, *and* Hillarius. when Macedonius ſpronge, he brought into the feild againſt him, Damaſus, Gregorius Nazianzenus and Baſilius. At an other time Neſtorius

[1] Fol. 108 back.

brake out, againſt him were ſent, Celeſtinus, biſhop of Rome, and Cirillus, Archbiſhop of Alexandria. Then yſſued out (I wott not from what dungeon) the Hereticke Eutiches, againſt whom he ſet *the* ſtrong *and* mightie Leo. [1]Lykewiſe Ireneus againſt Valentinus; Tertulian againſt Martian; Origen againſt Celſus; Ciprian againſt Novatus; *Saint* Jerom againſt Helvidius, Jovinianus, Vigilantius, *and the* luciferans; St. Auguſtine againſt the donatiſts and Pellagians; Agatho againſt the monothelits; Taraſius againſt the Icomomians; Lanfrank, Sirmond and Alger againſt Beringarius; Petrus Clinacenſis againſt *the* Henricians and Petrobruſſians; *Saint* Bernard againſt Adelherdus. And generally, in what time foeuer hereſies have ſhewed forth their hornes, there have alwais bene by the ſinguler benefit of god, ſuch worthie men for witt, learninge, *and* eloquence as have confuted them, partly by authoritie of ſcriptures, and partly by tradition of the Church. Nether hath god in theſe our vnfortunate daies, failed his church; for wheras you Lutherans are broken forth, and from you are ſprunge Zwinglians, Munncerans or Patrimontanes, and a number of horrible ſects of hereticks moe; god hath produced againſt you into the battell many worthie men indewed with ſinguler witt and excellent learninge, by whom your raginge madnes might be suppreſſed *and* put downe: Amonge whom ſpecially and by name, was that famous holy man, John Fyſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, who in defence of the faith and catholick church of *Chriſt*, neuer ſtoock for the loſſe of his life and ſheedinge of his blood.

[2]Finally, whoſoeuer ſhall reade the workes of Cocleus wiſellius, Eckius, and others, learned writers of Germanie; of the worthie biſhop and eloquent wryter, Oſorius; of Alphonſus de Caſtro, and others of Spaine and of Portugall; beſides a number of ſuch other learned fathers of many nations, wherof ſome lived in his owne daies, and ſome ſince, ſhall eaſily perceiue that he was a man, for his profound learninge and rare vertue, highly reuerrenced and eſteemed throughout *Chriſt*endome.

And, no doubte, but yf his writings and doings be well compared, ye ſhall find him moſt lyke vnto thoſe holy fathers and

[1] Fol. 109. [2] Fol. 109, back.

Doctors that in the primative Church, laid the very firſt ground and foundacion of our beleef, vpon *the* which we haue ſince reſted and ſtaid our ſelves: whom to diſcribe wholely and fully vnto you according to his worthines, I will not take vpon me, nether am I able to do it. No, were I as eloquent as Cicero, or as wittie and ſubtill as Ariſtotle, as copious as Demoſthenes, or as *pro*found in philoſophie as Plato: ſuch, and ſo innumerable, were his ſinguler vertues. But herin I will content myſelf with the gen*e*rall com-mendac*i*ons which all the famous vniu*e*rſities of Divinitie in Europe do geve this learned biſhopp, calling him bleſſed Martyr, and aleadginge his workes for great authoritie.

[1]Thus much I may alſo ſaie, that vnto Iuſtus his *pre*deſſeſſor, the firſt biſhop of Rocheſter, he was a iuſt and true ſucceſſor. The place of his birth he doth greatly bewtifie, with *the* glorious biſhopp, *Sain*t John of Beu*e*rley. To the countrie of kente, where he was biſhopp, he is an ornament *with Sain*t Thomas of Canterburie. In gravitie of his wrytinge he is to be reu*e*rrenced with ſaint Bede; for ſtowt defendinge the right and libertie of the holy Church againſt the power of princes, he is not inferior to the bleſſed biſhopp *Sain*t Ambroſe and *Sain*t Chriſoſtome. In prayinge for his enemies and perſecutors he reſembleth holy *Sain*t Stephen. In conſtancie and ſtowtnes of his martirdome he was a ſeconde Cyprian. But, above all others, he is moſt to be lykened and compared to that holy prophett and martyr of god, *Sain*t John Baptiſt. And firſt, to ſet a ſide the congruence in their names of John, it is to be noted, that as that John lived in wildernes a hard and ſolitarie life, in pennance and puniſhment of himſelf, so this John lived a ſolitarie and auſtere life in his private howſe and Cell (ſaving when he was called abroade to other buſines), puniſhing himſelf *with* ſtudie, hard lodginge vpon the matts, faſtinge, prayinge, wearing of haire ſhirtes, and whippinge himſelf. Lykewiſe, as that John preached dilligently the co*m*minge of Chriſt at hande, gevinge knowledge of ſalvation to all them that would beleeue and be baptiſed. So this John, with lyke dilligence and care warned *the* people by his continewall *pre*chinge and wrytinge of Chriſtes departure at hand, in caſe they ſtopped not

[1] Fol. 110.

their eares againſt thoſe horrible hereſies daily [1]preached and ſet forth vnto them. And as that John dyed for a caſe of matrimonie, ſayinge to kinge Herod: It is not lawfull for thee to have thy brothers wife. So this John dyed for a Case in matrimonie, contrarie in apparance, but agreeable in ſubſtance and truth, ſaying vnto kinge Henrie: It is not lawfull for thee to put awaie thy wife and take an other, though ſhe were once thy brothers wife, ſeeinge thy brother is dead without yſſue, and thou nowe lawfully maryed vnto her by diſpenſacion and authoritie of the Church. for Herod (whom Saint John Baptiſt reprehended) tooke to him his brothers wife, his brother livinge, which (as manifeſtly repugning to gods lawe) could not be done. But kinge Henrie tooke his brothers wife when his brother was dead, without yſſue of her, which by Moyſes law is not in that Caſe forbidden, and by the authoritie of the Church may be permitted, as this was: and therefore was the mariage good and lawfull, and conſequently the ſecond, deteſtable and vnlawfull. furthermore, as that Johns heade was begged of kinge Herod at a banquett, by a pſaltreſſe or woman dauncer, ſo this Johns head was begged by a lyke perſon of kinge Henrie, as he ſate banquettinge and cheeringe at his howſe of Hanworth. As that John was beheaded on the birth daie of kinge Herod, ſo this John was beheadded on the birth daie of kinge Henrie, the kinge having *that* day accompliſht the iuſt age of five and fortie yeres. [2]And as the holy finger of that John, which pointed to the lambe when he ſaid "*Ecce agnus dei,*" was miraculouſly preſerved from corruption longe after his death and martyrdome, ſo the holy head of this John wherwith he ſtowtly defended the head of our holy mother the Church, was by miracle preſerved longe after his martyrdome with a freſh and lively colour, till by commaundment of the kinge it was taken away and conveyed out of ſight. finally, as in the perſon of *that* John there dyed 3 notable functions or offices at once, That is to ſaie, of a preiſt, a prophett, and a patriarke, ſo in the perſon of this John there dyed 3 lyke worthie vocacions, That is to ſay, a preiſt, a Biſhop, and a Cardinall. And thus we ſee how the death of our holy John may be compared to Saint John Baptiſts death.

[1] Fol. 110, back. [2] Fol. 111.

And, yet in verie deed, for fome reſpects it furpaſſeth the death of Saint John; and the wicked doings of kinge Henrie furpaſſeth lykewiſe the wicked doings of kinge Herod. for Saint John Baptiſt reprehended Herod, and would not alowe his Acte in taking only his brothers wife, but kinge Henrie (whom this, our holy John, reprehended) put awaie his lawfull and vertuous wife, and tooke to him (as is rehearſed) his owne vnlawfull daughter, made ſure alreadie to another, and in honeſtie no better then an harlott. Herod was ſorie for his raſh promiſſe made to the woman dauncer, his daughter, when he heard her aſke Saint Johns head, but kinge Henrie was nothinge at all ſorie for the promiſſe he made of this holy Johns heade, but wilfully and malicioufly fought all vnlawfull meanes to cut it from the bodie, nether reſpecting his age, [1]his vertue, his learninge, ſanctitie of life, dignitie, nor other quallitie in his worthie perſonage. The fact of kinge Herod, for which Saint John dyed, did moſt concerne the iniurie which Herod did to his brother, whoſe wife he tooke. But the fact of kinge Henrie, wherfore our bleſſed John dyed, did not only tuche the iniurie committed againſt the vertuous ladie, his lawfull wife, but it contayned the expreſſe contempt of our holy father the Pope, and of the authoritie of the Catholicke Church beſides the occaſion of ſinne and ſcandall which it gave to the partie that did pretend title to her, whom the king would needes marrie. But what ſhould I ſpeake of Herode, whoſe crueltie was nothinge to be compared to this kinge, for in malice which he ſhewed to a great number of holy and learned men, principally to this, our holy father, he had neuer yet his like bearing the name of Chriſt, and profeſſing his faith. In vnthankfulnes he was much worſe then Alexander, for he did not only nothing conſider the great affiaunce which his noble father, king Henrie the vij[th], had in this holy man, making him at his death one of his executors (as we haue before mentioned), nothing wayinge the ſinguler affeccion and creditt that his grandmother, that worthie ladie Margaret, Counteſſe of Richmond [2]and Darbie, had in him above all the Prelats *and* biſhops of the land: but ſetting at nought the great vertue, learninge, and holines which he perfectly knewe to be in him ſo rare a biſhop, and vtterly

[1] Fol. 111, back. [2] Fol. 112.

forgettinge the honor and fame which by him both he and all his realme had gotten, lyke a moſt vnthankfull prince, and moſt contemptuous of his fouer*a*igne and holy father, the head of Chriſts church in earth, fought out moſt wickedly all the meanes he coulde to intrappe this holy biſhop and vertuous Cardinall, and contrary both to the lawe of god and decrees of our holy mother, the Church, beinge a meere laie prince, and ſo havinge no authoritie nor iuriſdicc*i*on wherby he might lawfully thus proceed againſt an annointed biſhop *and* Cardinall of the Church of Rome, but that by entendinge the leaſt of the waies which he vſed againſt him, muſt of neceſſitie incurre the ſore and greevous cenſure of exco*mmuni*cac*i*on, accompanied with many other daungers and inconveniences more then can well be rehearſed. He (I ſaie), contemminge all theſe, did moſt wickedly take vpon him and vſurpe the authoritie which before his daies, neu*er* *Chriſt*en *and* Catholyke prince did, and (which John Calvin, an Heretick, did vtterly deteſt and condemne in him) againſt all law and reaſon moſt cruelly put to death this man of god, ou*er* whom, nether by law nor cuſtome he could haue any criminall iuriſdicc*i*on, but ought (yf he had made an offence) to have referred the hearing and diſcuſſing of his crime to his metropolitan, [1]or rather to the cheefe head of all biſhopps, to whom only the iudgment and hearinge of a biſhopps crime in a ſpirituall cauſe (as this was) doth and alwaies hath of right app*er*tained. And as the enormities of king Henrie in this caſe were ſo exorbitant, and furpaſſing all lawe, reaſon, and conſcience, ſo is the wonderfull working of Almightie god (whoſe iudgments are ſecret and ſtrange in our ſights) much to be marked and noted in him and his adherents. for as god of his owne nature is patient and longe ſufferinge, becauſe he expecteth the amendment of our ſinfull lives, ſo is he alſo iuſt in his doings, and puniſheth greevouſly where no amendment is indevored, as now may well be perceived by theſe perſons that were perſecutors of this bleſſed man, for they eſcaped not the daunger of his heavie hand, as ſhall be declared vnto you.

And firſt, to begin with the ladie Ann Bullen as the cheef and principall cauſe for whom all this wofull tragedie begun, who was

[1] Fol. 112, back.

alſo cheef *per*ſecutor of this holy man; marke how ſhe was in ſhort ſpace after caſte downe from the topp of her high honor and dignitie wherin ſhe was exalted, and for a moſt foule *and* abhominable inceſt committed with her owne brother, beſides ſundrie adultries with other perſons, was throwne into cruell and ſtrayte priſon, where ſhe remained not longe before ſhe was condemned to death by ſundrie noble men of this realme, that lately before were full ꝑplyable and readie to pleaſe her in all her co*m*maundments, wherof ſome were [1]neere of kindred to her; yea, one of them her owne father: according to which condemnac*i*on ſhe was put to open and ſhamefull execution of death, leavinge behind her nothinge but an infamous name to continue for eu*er*. Of whoſe loſſe the kinge himſelf tooke ſo litle ſorrowe, that the verie next daie after ſhe was dead he was maryed to another wife.

Next that, the lord Crumwell is to be remembred, who with great dilligence ſolicited the matter to the kinge, and erneſtly provoked him in this and manie other ill purpoſes. He, beinge advaunced to ſuch honor and authoritie as no man in this realme at that time bare the lyke about the kinge, grewe at laſt into ſuch hatred amonge the noble men and co*m*mons throughout the realme for his intollerable *and* tirannicall crueltie exerciſed ou*er* them, that finally he was by ſundrie practiſes brought alſo into the kings diſpleaſure, and ſo caſt into miſerable priſon, condemned to death by Acte of Parliament for hereſie and treaſon, and after executed accordinge to his iudgment, no man pittying his Caſe.

Then co*m*meth to minde m*aiſter* Thomas Cranm*er*, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, who of his owne powre without iuſt warrant or authoritie pronounced the ſentence of divorſe between the kinge and the queene, and after callinge this holy man before him and others, caſt him into priſon with as much extremitie as could be ſhowed for refuſing the two new oathes, the one of the kings new marryage, the other of the Sup*re*macie [2]from whence he was neu*er* deliu*er*ed till death ridd him of all worldly cares. This m*aiſter* Cranmer, although he continewed his place and dignitie duringe the vnnaturall and cruell times of kinge Henrie and the infant his ſonne kinge Edward, yet at laſt in the

[1] Fol. 113. [2] Fol. 113, back.

raigne of that moſt bleſſed ladie, Queene Marie, when the true light of iuſtice of Chriſts anncient and Catholicke religion began againe to ſhine, he was called to a reckonninge for many of his former ill doings, And laſtly, ſtanding ſtiffe in diuers horrible and fowle hereſies, was moſt worthily burnt with fire and conſumed to aſhes.

Lykewife maiſter Rich, the kings Solicitor, that gaue falſe teſtimonie againſt him, and was forſworne at his arraignement in ſo falſely betrayinge him, Although for manie yeres after he continewed corruptly gathering together of welth till the daies of king Henrie were ended, yet haue I bene credibly informed, that yf the kinge had lived but a few daies longer then he did, he was growne into ſuch diſpleaſure againſt him for ſundrie falſehoodes and deceipts, in fraudulent purchaſinge and exchangeinge of land between the kinge and him, wherein the kinge was deceaved of no ſmall valewe: And lykwiſe for diuers bribes extorted vpon manie of his ſubiects, that he was finally determined to have attainted him of fellonie, extorcion, and periurie, and ſo in one howre to have ſpoyled him of all that great heape [1]which he ſo falſely had raked together in manie yeres before. But beinge after in the wicked time of the infants raigne advaunced to high honor and place far above his deſert, yet lived he to be depoſed againe of that place even by the ſame perſons that preferred him. But ſince in the daies of that noble and bleſſed queen marie of worthie memorie, he became penitent (as I have heard) for many of his offences; for the which god permitted him (as it may be thought) to die in better order then the reſt before did. But true it is that after his death his bodie eſcaped a narrow daunger of burninge: for at ſuch time as he was dead and his bodie laid into a Coffin, ceared and balmed, and certaine Candells ſet vpon the herſe, as the manner was; one of the Candells (ether by the will of god, or els by negligence of ſome of the watchers that were abſent) fell downe, and tooke houlde firſt of the Clothes and after of the Coffin, that in the ende before any body was ware, the fire was faſtned vpon the ceare-cloathes, where this miſerable carcaſſe laye, and had without all doubt conſumed the ſame into aſhes, had it not then bene ſpeedily eſpied by certaine of the ſervants by chaunce, who ſaved all for that time,

[1] Fol. 114.

though not without great daunger to the bodie, and the reſt of the howſe alſo. All which ſo narrowe eſcapes I can impute to nothinge but only to the goodnes of god, for that he conceived (as before is ſaid) ſome repentance, though I neuer heard of any pennance by him done at all.

[1] Laſte of all it is worthie to be remembred how iuſtly the kinge himſelf was plagued firſt by the inordinat number of his wives, beinge in all vj, and not one lawfull more then the firſt, as maie be thought. Of these vj two were repudiate, two beheaded for incontinencie, one killed wittingly in childbed for ſavinge of her childe, and the fixt ſurvived him, wherin her fortune was better then the reſt of her fellowes: for (as I haue heard reported by ſuch as had no cauſe to lie) he was wearie of her longe before he dyed, and therfore yf he had lived but one yere longer, ment to have framed ſuch matter againſt her for hereſie, as ſhould haue coſt her her lyfe as it did ſome others of her predeſceſſors before. And as for heire male of his body which he ſo much deſired and made ſo great adooe for, as though the realme had bene vtterly vndone yf he had dyed without yſſue male, we ſee that god for ſome purpoſe permitted him at laſt to have a ſonne, rather (as it may be thought) that no fillie women ſhould looſe their lives for ſatiffying his licentious and vaine appetite, then for any other iuſt reſpect. But after his death the raigne of that ſonne was verie ſhort, and his yeres verie fewe; so is there no great matter praiſe worthie to be written of him. But of things done vnder the color of his name and authoritie have we all great cauſe to lament, which [2] tended to nothinge els but the ouerthrowe and extirpacion of the Catholick faith here within this realme, as we felte and taſted, and ſhould ſtill have taſted daily more and more yf god had not taken him vpon ſome ſpeciall favour (as may be thought) and merciſull pittie which at laſt he began to have of this poore afflicted countrey, reducinge it againe to the true and auncient faith, by the cutting awaie of ſuch an impe, at whoſe handes we were not to looke for more grace then the father by his pernitious examples had grafted in ſo inceſtious and damnable a ſtocke. Then note his vnmercifull and vnſpeakable crueltie, wherin he was once entred by the horrible

[1] Fol. 114, back. [2] Fol. 115.

murder of this holy prelate, he conceived ſuch a bouldnes, and therwithall was ſtroken with ſuch a blindnes, that in crueltie he was to be accounted nothinge inferior to Nero, for whereas Nero committed execrable parricide in cauſinge his naturall mother to be ſlaine, and not ſatiate therwith commaundinge that in his preſence her bellie ſhould be opened to the entent (as he ſaid) that vnnaturally he might beholde the place where he was conceived in her woumbe. This kinge Henrie, an other Nero, did not only perpetrate parricide and ſacriledge, but alſo that hainous treaſon of Hereſie all at one clappe, whiles in ryppinge the bowells of his mother, the holy Church and verie ſpouſe of Chriſt vpon earth, he labored to teare her in peeces, and diſpiſinge her authoritie (beinge but one of her rotten members) monſtrouſly tooke vpon him to be her ſupreame heade; for this only acte (if he had done nothing els) alwais was and by law is accounted [1] ſo enormе and exorbitant, that as he which withdraweth or detracteth from any peculier Church her right doth manifeſt iniurie and wronge, ſo he that goeth about to take awaie the priviledge of the Church of Rome, geven of *Chriſt* himſelf, the ſupreame heade of all Churches, falleth into hereſie. And wheras the other tranſgreſſor is to be termed iniurious and vnnaturall, this kind of offence in this is to be called both a ſciſmaticke and an hereticke, for he doth violate faith and nature in attemptinge againſt the church, which is the mother of faith. But this our ſecond Nero was not yet content with this abhominable acte, but heaped a great many moe vpon it, raſinge to the ground holy monaſteries, Priories, and all other ſorts of religious howſes, profaininge them with all the holie reliques and precious ornaments dedicate to the ſervice of god, not ſparing the bloodſhed of all ſuch holy men and learned clerkes as preferred the pleaſure of god and commandment of their mother the Catholick Church, before his vnlawfull lawes and wicked will. And for noble perſonages of this realme, both men and women, he ſpared nether kindred nor other, yea, many times for a word ſpeakinge he would revenge by death, were it ſpoken vpon neuer ſo reaſonable a ground or cauſe. By reaſon wherof more of the nobillity were conſumed in his daies, then in any three of his predifceſſors ſince this realme was firſt

[1] Fol. 115, back.

inhabited, ſo that in murder (yf it be well conſidered) he paſſed *the* cruell [1]Turke Selyn. To this ioyne his licentious and wanton expenſes wherby he conſumed the treaſure of his realme, and then fallinge into lacke turned his gould and ſilver into Copper, and after (ſpendinge the ſame vnthriftely) tooke of his ſubiectes ſo exceſſively, that neu*er* prince in this realme lived with leſſe love and favor of all good people, though amonge flatterers and parraſites (amonge whom this treaſure was ſpent) neu*er* any ſo highly magnifyed and extolled. Then conſider how iuſtly he was plagued in his groſſe bodie many yeres before his death, with ſoares and diſeaſes that grewe vpon him, by meane of drunken ſurfett*es*, idlenes, ſlouth, and vitious trade of life, amonge women, ſparing nether kindred nor other yf ſhe lyked his carnall appetite, wherby he became at last ſo impotent and loathſome, that when the Surgeants ſhould dreſſe him, it hath bene reported by ſome of his privie chamber that they have ſmelte the ill favour of his ſoares the ſpace of two chambers before they came at him. Laſtly and moſt of all, waie *the* daunger of his miſerable foul dyinge in the perilous ſtate of exco*mmuni*cati*on* without reconciliac*ion* or repentance, knowne or heard of to the worlde; yea, it hath bene reported by ſuch as were about him at his end that he dyed almoſt in deſpe*rac*ion cryinge out vpon the phiſitians becauſe they could not cure him, Sayinge, "have I thus rewarded you with livings and geven you fees, and none of you now able to helpe me when I have moſt need of y*our* helpe." And with that callinge for Sir Anthonie Dennye, an egregious flatterer about him, and comonly never farr from him, co*mm*aunded him to whipp them.

[2]And although he perceived at laſt that by no meanes he could eſcape death, yet what did he? Can any man report *that* in all the time of his ſicknes he once called to god for mercie and forgevenes of his former wretched life: no truly. But ſomtimes lying in a ſtudie with himſelf, and ſomtimes ſorrowinge as ſeemed by his countenance, would ſodenly ſaie, "oh! I muſt dye": "yea, Sir," would ſome or other ſaie ſomtime, "you muſt needs die once; ſo muſt I and eu*er*y man here, but I truſt you ſhall not die nowe." "Alas" (would he ſaie againe), "thinkeſt thou that I ſhall be ſaved when I die? for I have

[1] Fol. 116. [2] Fol. 116, back.

bene a kinge, and lived lyke a kinge." And no doubt, but even as his life was ſinfull, ſo after his death god ſhewed a ſtrange example upon his wretched Carcaſſe, for at ſuch time as it was in preparinge to be ceared and ſpiced, by the Surgions in the chamber at weſtminſter, where he dyed, to be after removed downe to the Chappell, and ſo from thence to winſor, where it was buried; it chanced the ſaid carcas by miſhap and ouer boiſterous liftinge to fall to the ground, out of which yſſued ſuch a quantitie of horrible and ſtinking filthie blood and matter, that it was no ſmall trooble to a number about it to clenſe the place againe, and to make readie againſt the next daie for the remove. But before all could be done there came into the place (as I have bene credibly informed) a great black dogge, no man could tell from whence, which dogge (while euery [1]bodie was occupied) filled himſelf ſo full as his ſides could hould with lycking vp his filthie blood that was ſpilte, and in the end eſcaped without hurt from the Garde and diuers others that ſtrooke at him with their halberts *and* other weapons, meaninge verily to have killed him yf they coulde.

Others I could have named vnto you that were doers in this busines, and that of right great callinge, whom god worthily after finiſhed, ſome by a fowle and ſhamefull ende, ſome by leavinge them without yſſue or kindred, wherby their landes and goodes after their death came to the handes of ſtraungers that fell in ſtrife amonge them ſelves, others were attainted, and therby not only their owne bodies executed to ſhamefull death, but alſo their landes and goods beinge forfeited their children went a begginge. Some came to one miſhap and ſome to another, which yf it were written at large would require a longe proceſſe.

[2]Theſe beinge manifeſt ſignes and tokens of Godes indignacion and heavie diſpleaſure againſt this whole realme, for ſo cruell and horrible murderinge of his holy prophetts, it ſtandeth vs in hand, and that ſpeedily without delay, to proſtrate ourſelves before him, and with humilitie to beſeech him of his infinite mercie and goodnes, that we be not accordinge to our deſertes worthily puniſhed, firſt in this world, by the intollerable yoke, and barbarous tyrannie of Infidells and Turkes

[1] Fol. 117. [2] Fol. 118. Part of Fol. 117 and all Fol. 117, back, is blank.

and after in the world to come by eu*er*laftinge paine and torment of hell fire. But that rather by the merritts and interceſſion of this holy Martyr, this noble realme may once againe be reſtored to that auncient and trewe *Chriſt*ian faith in which our forefathers lived theſe thowfand yeres and more: And that we *the* dwellers therin and our poſteritie may once againe peaceably ſerve him in the ſame faith all the daies of our lives. And after in the world to come, glorifie him in his heavenly kingdome where he raigneth for ever and eu*er*. Amen.

FINIS.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

66710

PR 1119 E5 no. 117 1973

Hall, Richard.
The life of
Fisher, K.

66710

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT TYLER
PR1119.E5 no.117, 1973
The life of Fisher transcribed from ms.
0 00 01 0070353 7